UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

PUBLICATION OF THE SERIES IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURE, NO. 16

INTROITO AND LOA IN THE SPANISH DRAMA OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

JOSEPH A. MEREDITH

A THESIS

IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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FOREWORD

In view of the present interest in the sixteenth century Spanish drama, it seemed as though there might be room for a more detailed inquiry than any yet made into the history of the Spanish dramatic prologue during that period. The *loa* and, less frequently, the *introito*, have been commented on from time to time by various scholars, but the most extensive treatment which they have as yet received is found in the introduction to Señor Cotarelo y Mori's monumental *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII*. Here, however, the interest is centered on the *loa* in its later and more developed form, as the title indicates, and the section devoted to the early prologue serves, naturally, only as a rapid approach to the seventeenth century. It is the earlier period that is the concern of the present study, which attempts to trace the origins and development of the *introito*, *loa* and kindred forms, from the first *Eglogas* of Juan del Encina up to the *Viaje entretenido* of Agustín de Rojas.

It is no less a pleasure than a duty to acknowledge the author's great indebtedness to Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford for his unremitting encouragement and invaluable counsel during the preparation of this work; to Professor Hugo A. Rennert for illuminating criticism and the generous offer of free access to his library; and to Professor Jean B. Beck for helpful suggestions on the French side of this investigation.

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I

Beginnings of the Shepherd Monologue in Farsa and Egloga

Torres Naharro is usually credited with the invention, both in name and substance, of the *introito*, that peculiar type of shepherd monologue which became the dominant form of prologue in the Spanish drama of the first half of the sixteenth century. But before his comedies, performed and published in Italy, began to influence the drama of Spain, we find evidence there of two significant tendencies: the one, contemporary with the beginnings of theatrical representation, a tendency to use the shepherd as a comic figure speaking a rustic dialect; the other, appearing not much later, a tendency to use this shepherd in an introductory monologue which, in several cases, became an *introito* in all but name, and in one case gave us the first formal prologue in the Spanish theatre.

The character of the *pastor*, humorously conceived, is apparently a tradition before the first eclogues of Juan del Encina were written.[1] We find him depicted in those "chufas de pastores" of the Nativity scene in the *Vita Christi por coplas* (published c. 1480) of Fray Iñigo López de Mendoza.[2] It has been assumed that this passage is really a description of some Christmas play which our author had witnessed, and the existence

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[1] The origin of comedy in the Spanish drama is still a debatable question. Was it the natural, internal development in the medieval mystery of matter lending itself readily to a humorous interpretation? Or was it an intercalation of the comic spirit of the Roman mime, transmitted by the *juglar?* The latter view is held, for France, by Faral, Petit de Julleville, Creizenach and others; for Spain, by Bonilla y San Martín, *Las Bacantes*, Madrid, 1921. J. P. W. Crawford, *Romanic Review*, 1911: "Pastor and Bobo in the Spanish Religious Drama of the XVI Century," p. 378, expressed the opposite view. See same author's *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, p. 16, for a fair presentation of the problem. An analytic study of the various comic characters has been made by W. S. Hendrix in his monograph, *Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama* (Ohio State University Bulletin, Contributions in Languages and Literatures, No. 1, 1924). *Cf.* also same author's article, "Sancho Panza and the Comic Types of the Sixteenth Century" in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, II, 485–494.

[2] *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, of Foulché-Delbosc (*Nueva bibl. de aut. esp.*, vols. 19, 22), t.I, p. 8.

of such popular plays, with the shepherds playing a comic rôle, has been inferred from the development of the *Officium Pastorum* in the rest of Europe.[3] At any rate, here we find them showing fear of the angel, bearing gifts to the Christ-Child, singing in his honor and attempting to imitate the *Gloria in Excelsis*—all, of course, in their rustic speech.

What of this language? Whether we call it dialect, conventional jargon, *sayagués* or *lenguaje villanesco*, it is the inevitable medium of expression of the comic shepherd in the early Spanish drama, and consequently the language of its prologuist. It is earlier than the *Vita Christi*; it is found in the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* (1464), and between that date and the first *églogas* of Encina we find it become the conventional language of a certain type of pastoral lyric, the *villancico*. It is important to note that the use of this speech does not necessarily imply comic intent; Encina uses it in serious as well as humorous passages.

Are we to infer from the evidence of the *Vita Christi* that both shepherd and language are a tradition of early Christmas plays in the vernacular? If so, what of its use in the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* and the *villancicos*? The easiest solution would be to consider that these various writers were imitating some actual local *patois*,[4] yet competent critics have considered the *sayagués* an artificial poetic convention.[5] Whatever the ultimate sources of this important element in the early Spanish drama, we must assume that it was one of the germs from which that drama grew, and that from there it passed into the *introito*.

In the first edition (1496) of the *Cancionero* of Juan del Encina

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[3] *Cf.* Eugen Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, p. 82.

[4] Lamano y Beneite, *Dialecto vulgar salmantino*, Salamanca, 1915.

[5] Fitzmaurice Kelly (the 3rd Spanish edition, 1921), p. 117, takes this view citing Menéndez y Pelayo, who, in his *Antología de poetas líricos*, VII, *Prólogo*, p. lxxvi, calls the *sayagués* "una jerigonza literaria convencional." The latter, however, expresses a different opinion in his *Historia de la poesía castellana en la edad media*, II, 301, where he speaks of Encina's language as somewhat conventional, but derived from the popular speech of Extremadura and certain parts of the provinces of Salamanca and Zamora. For a study of tcerain individual words and phrases, see Professor Gillet's "Notes on the Language of the Rustics in the Drama of the Sixteenth Century" in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, I, 443–453.

we find no hint of an introductory monologue, humorous or argumentary, although there occur passages, in the *églogas* and in the lyrics, of which we shall have to take account later. The simple structure of these plays and the informal nature of their presentation scarcely favored a prologue; that term, however, has been applied to two of his pieces: the first eclogue, followed on the same evening by a Christmas play, and the fifth, after which was given the Carnival eclogue.[6] Each of these, in dialogue, with pastoral language and garb, is a form of mumming, a masque, analogous to the *momos*, or *hados* of Gómez Manrique and other court poets of the fifteenth century.[7] The chief function of these *églogas* is to sing the praises of the Duke and Duchess of Alba, Encina's patrons, although the first also presents, in pastoral metaphor, the poet's defence against certain critics of his art. They have no organic connection with the pieces that follow them, and the heading *égloga* in each case seems to indicate that Encina thought of them as complete in themselves. Of the same nature is the first part of the *Egloga representada por las mesmas personas*; here, in a dialogue between two shepherds, we have what is really an oral dedication of the poet's works to his patrons. These shepherds take part in the action which follows, but that is the only bond between the two portions of the eclogue. Of course, as eulogistic and dedicatory verse, this *égloga*, together with the first and fifth, furnished Encina with a precedent for the tone and wording of his one formal dramatic prologue, that to the *Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano.*

The first eclogue refers at least indirectly to the Christmas play which is to follow. The shepherd Juan (perhaps Encina in person) after greeting his patrons, turns toward the Duchess and says:

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[6] The order of the *Eglogas* followed here is that of the *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina*, edition of the Spanish Academy, by Asenjo Barbieri, Madrid, 1893.

[7] Such as the *momos* found in Gómez Manrique's *Cancionero:* one to celebrate the birth of his nephew, another to celebrate the fourteenth birthday of the King of Castile; or the flattering prognostications made at the birth of a king by Francisco Imperial, *Cancionero de Baena*, No. 226.

Mia fé, tráyole un presente
Poquillo y de buena miente:
Tome vuestra señoranza.
Y no penseis ahitaros,
Que no es cosa de comer,
Sino nuevas de pracer
Para haber de gasajaros. . .

What follows is an elaborate eulogy of both Duke and Duchess; but the portion I have cited links it with the Christmas eclogue, in which we are soon to hear of the "good tidings" referred to by the words "nuevas de pracer." Juan is bringing a gift to his lady, just as the shepherd-apostles take their offerings to the Child. The "pastoral disguising," which has been attributed to Virgilian influence,[8] seems to me entirely liturgical and a borrowing from the same tradition which produced the analogous scene in the *Vita Christi*. Besides, since Juan was taking the rôle of a shepherd in the second eclogue, it was only dramatic economy to have him make his presentation in the same costume. It was the second *égloga*, then, which determined the first, and the two together set a precedent which was to have a direct effect on the development of the early drama as a whole, and consequently on the prologue, which emerged from it.

The importance for the prologue of *Églogas* I, V, and the first part of VIII is briefly this: by using him in pieces not directly connected with the Nativity, the shepherd of the Christmas play was set free to function as actor and prologuist in secular plays, as well as in religious plays celebrating festivals in which the *pastor* had no logical place.

Encina's usage determined the form of the *Visitação*, or *Monologo do vaqueiro*, in which, with pastoral garb and language, Gil Vicente offered congratulations to King Manuel and Queen Maria of Portugal on the birth of Prince John. This masquerade took place June 7, 1502, in the Queen's apartment of the royal palace at Lisbon, Vicente acting as spokesman for some thirty courtiers, all attired as herdsmen. The cowherd's expressions of bewilderment and awe at the magnificence of his surroundings

[8] J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Pastoral Drama*, p. 24.

are not without their influence on the later development of the humorous monologue.

The influence of Encina's first *égloga* may be plainly seen on an anonymous Christmas play, the *Egloga interlocutoria*,[9] written after, and closely imitating the *Egloga de las grandes lluvias*. The first two stanzas are directly addressed to the audience by the shepherd Pascual, who begins:

> Dios salve acá, buena gente!
> soncas que Dios es nacido!
> poquillo y de buenamente
> ora lo dixo Llorente,
> que de Gil lo avia oydo.

He describes the terror of the Moors at the news, and predicts the speedy extermination of "gente de largas narices." The first and third lines of the above are identical with the first and eighth of the opening *copla* of Encina's Eclogue I; the message is that of the beginning of the second. This introduction is on the way to being a prologue—a step not actually taken, however until the *Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano*.

Some dozen years before the latter, however, we find the first step towards an *introito* taken by Lúcas Fernández in his *Egloga o farsa del nascimiento*. This play, written shortly after 1500,[10] is opened by the shepherd Bonifacio, who enters in high spirits, "alabándose y jatándose de ser zagal muy sabido y muy polido y esforzado, y mañoso y de buen linaje," as the rubric says. So great is his merriment that he cannot contain himself:

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[9] For text see edition of Urban Cronan, *Rev. Hisp.* XXXVI (1916). The play is discussed by R. E. House, "A Study of Encina and the *Egloga Interlocutoria*," *Rom. Rev.* VII (1916), pp. 458–469. Professor S. G. Morley in an article "Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega" (*Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, I, 508) notes that this play is written for the most part in *quintillas*, a form never used by Encina.

[10] Cañete, *Farsas y églogas de Lucas Fernández*, pp. 139–141. Hendrix (*Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama*, p. 32) thinks Fernández modeled his boasting shepherd after the boasting soldier of his *Farso o cuasi comedia del soldado*. Aside from the fact that the boasting is of an entirely different type, the latter play was in all probability written after the *Egloga o farsa del nascimiento*, between 1509 and 1514, since it contains allusions to the *Egloga de tres pastores* of Encina.

¡Ya me rebienta el gasajo
Por somo del pestorejo!
Gran grolia siento en el cuajo;
De aquí descrucio el trajo,
El descuetro y sobrecejo.

This, we infer, is due to his complete self-satisfaction:

Ño hay zagal tan quellotrido
En esta tierra,
Tan sabiondo ni entendido
Tan lozano ni tan garrido,
Aunque vayan a la sierra.

He is a favorite socially and much admired by the girls:

Las zagalas que me otean
En l'igreja,
Mia fe! todas me desean
Y con gran muedo se arrean
Por sobarme la pelleja.
En bodas y cofradías
Siempre soy más remirado. . .

He proceeds to catalogue his accomplishments:

En correr, saltar, luchar,
Naide me llega al zapato.
Pues en cantar y bailar
Y el caramillo tocar,
Siempre so el mejor del hato.

Finally he describes his wardrobe:

Tengo jubon de frolete,
Sayo de cestrepicote;
Tengo cinto y caviñete,
Caperuza de ferrete,
De sayal un buen capote; *etc.*

And he sums up the whole with the final assertion:

So gran pastor de ganado!

If it could be proved that Fernández was familiar with the

work of the Archpriest of Hita, I should be tempted to offer the following passage from the *Libro de buen amor* as a direct source for Bonifacio's monologue:

Dixe: Bien sé guardar mata
E yegua'n çerro cavalgo,
Sé'l lobo cómo se mata:
Quando yo enpos dél salgo,
Ante l'alcanço qu'el galgo.
Ssé bien tornear las vacas
E domar bravo novillo,
Sé maçar é faser natas
E faser el odresillo,
Bien sé gitar las abarcas
E taner el caramillo,
Cavalgar bravo potrillo.
Ssé faser el altybajo
E sotar a qualquier muedo.
Non fallo alto nin baxo,
Que me vença, segund cuedo:
Quand' a la lucha m'abaxo,
Al qu'una vez travar puedo,
Derríbol', si me denuedo.

These *coplas* (999–1001) are the response given by Juan Ruiz, who, challenged by a *serrana*, and answering that he is seeking a wife, is asked if he knows "de sierra algo."[11] This is the earliest treatment of the theme of the boasting shepherd that I have found in Spanish literature, and as our study of the *introito* develops, we shall find even greater analogies with Juan Ruiz. Yet I think that this theme in Fernández is not so much an imitation as a later outcropping of the same spirit, a tendency to treat the romantic pastoral in a burlesque manner. His immediate models lay much nearer at hand.

In Encina's *Egloga representada en requesta de unos amores* we have a *débat* between a shepherd and a squire for the hand of a shepherdess. The shepherd presents his claims as follows:

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[11] *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Cejador y Frauca, Madrid, 1913, vol. II, pp. 51–52. Bonilla y San Martín thinks Juan Ruiz was little known at the beginning of the sixteenth century: *cf. Una comedia latina del siglo XII* ("Liber Panphili"), p. 9.

Con dos mil cosas que sé.
Yo, mia fe, la serviré
Con tañer, cantar, bailar,
Con saltar, correr, luchar,
Y mil donas le daré.

In the following *Egloga representada por las mesmas personas*, the same shepherd, about to turn courtier, expresses his regret at having to give up these rustic pursuits, "los placeres dell aldea." This conventional list of shepherd pastimes is found also in the lyrics of Encina and contemporary poets, all of which must have been familiar to Fernández. In a *villancico* of Encina, No. 371 of the *Cancionero musical* of Barbieri,[12] a lady declares that she has fallen in love with a shepherd for these accomplishments:

Pedro, y bien te quiero,
Magüera vaquero.
Has tan bien bailado,
Corrido y luchado,
Que m'has enamorado
Y d'amores muero.—

No. 380 presents a variation of the same idea by an anonymous poet. In another by Encina, No. 372, a love-lorn swain complains that he no longer finds delight in pastoral matters; here too, as in Bonifacio's speech, we have a reference to dress:

Ya no quiero el caramillo,
Ni las vacas ni corderos,
Ni los sayos domingueros,
Ni el capote de pardillo,
Ni quiero ya zurroncillo
Ni cotral,
Ni yesca ni pedernal.—

No. 385, attributed to Encina, but not included in his *cancionero*, is practically a repetition of the above.

Of even greater interest for our study is No. 375, a debate

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[12] *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, F. Asenjo Barbieri, Madrid, 1890.

between two shepherds as to the charms of their respective sweethearts. The following excerpts offer a striking similarity to Fernández, even as to wording:

De la mia tu te sabe
Qu'es muy garrida zagala;
Tiénese tanta de gala,
Que en el cuerpo no le cabe.
. . . . . .
La mia tiene buen hato,
Buen copetón y cernejas,
En ojos y en sobrecejas
Nadie le llega al zapato. . .
. . . . . .
Zagala de buen aliño
Es la mia mas que todas;
Baila muy bien en las bodas, . . .

Following this we have a minute description of the dress of the rival *zagalas*. One has but to change the gender to arrive at a description of Bonifacio. And in No. 392, by Escobar, we find a parallel to his expression of ebullient joy and to the boasting about his clothes:

Gran placer siento yo ya.—
Ya me regocijo yo.—
Ho, mas há!
Pues de amores bien me va
Con la que me enamoró.
. . . . . .
Andaré yo repicado
Qu'ella rehuelgue a osadas,
Mis calzas abotonadas,
Mi jubón el colorado:
Mi gala relucirá
Que nunca nadie le vió.—

With this evidence before us, I believe we are justified in considering Fernández's monologue as the combination and exaggeration of certain conventional shepherd traits common to *cancionero* literature before him. In their original context these

traits are not portrayed with comic intent; whatever humor we find in Bonifacio's harangue consists in the detachment of these elements from their context, and their transference from a lyric background to a matter-of-fact one. It is the spirit of burlesque playing upon romantic material, and Fernández's relation to the courtly poets of the *cancioneros* is the same as that of Juan Ruiz to the Galician-Provençal school.[13]

But although I believe that, as to matter, Fernández's boasting monologue springs from the sources I have indicated, I think his immediate motive and point of departure are to be found in Encina's first eclogue. Even a cursory study of the *Egloga o farsa del nascimiento* of Fernández shows it to be built upon the first two eclogues of Encina: Bonifacio's monologue and his ensuing dialogue with Gil correspond to the first eclogue; and the Christmas play proper, beginning with the entrance of the hermit Macario, corresponds to the second. In the first, as we have noted, Juan (probably Encina in person) after a laudatory greeting of his patrons, defends himself against certain detractors, for whom Mateo is spokesman, and promises an edition of his works—all in terms of shepherd life. His replies to Mateo are not free from boasting, as these verses show:

Aunque agora yo no trayo
Sino hato de pastores,
Deja tú venir el Mayo,
Y verás si saco un sayo
Que relumbren sus colores.

. . . . . .

Tenme por de los mejores;
Cata que estás engañado;
Que si quieres de pastores,
O si de trovas mayores,
De todo sé, Dios loado.

To which Mateo replies:

Hora digo que en tí está
Un bien chapado zagal.

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[13] *Primitiva poesía lírica española*, R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1919, p. 39

Fernández might easily have found provocation here. When we consider that he was a rival of Encina,[14] and probably one of those critics to whom Mateo refers, it does seem within the realm of possibility that he should be parodying him in the person of Bonifacio, using matter drawn from Encina's own *cancionero* for the purpose. But we do not need to make this assumption; for our study it is sufficient to note that Fernández anticipated the *introito* of Naharro by using the *pastor* in an opening monologue which presents in a burlesque manner certain stock traits of the courtly school of poets, of which Encina was a leader.

Our immediate interest does not carry us beyond the opening verses of this play of Lucas Fernández, but it must be borne in mind that Bonifacio's boasting does not stop there. Another shepherd, Gil, enters and, playing a part like that of Mateo in Encina's play, goads him into bragging of his knowledge of sheep-raising, his skill in trapping small game, and his ancestry. Later in the play we find him laying claim to certain clerkly attainments. We shall study these elements in detail when they appear in the *introito* of Naharro and his followers.

Encina's only formal prologue occurs in the *Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano*. If this precedes the first *introito* used by Naharro, it is the first prologue in the Spanish theatre, although presented and perhaps written in Italy.[15] It is true that the third edition of the *Celestina* (1502) has a prose prologue,[16] but it is obviously intended, like the drama itself, for the reader. And in Encina's earlier work, as well as in Fernández, we find the extended title, or rubric, giving the content of the play. This usage, of course,

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[14] Both for the position of court poet to the Duke of Alba and of choir-master in the Cathedral of Salamanca, which latter post he obtained, to Encina's discomfiture. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, pp. 21, 27.

[15] This play or the *Representación del amor* was performed at Rome, January 6, 1513, at the house of Cardinal Arborea, according to the oft-quoted letter of Stazio Gadio. See Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 35. The *Trofea* was performed at Rome in 1514, but some of the plays of Naharro may have had an earlier performance in Italy.

[16] This was added by Alonso de Proaza, and is an imitation of the prologue of Petrarch to the second book of *De remediis utriusque fortuna*, and also imitates the *glosa* of Hernán Nuñez de Toledo on Mena's *Laberinto de amor*. See Cejador's edition of *La Celestina*, Madrid, 1913, vol. I, p. 15, n 2.

antedates the drama, and is common in the *cancioneros*. In the *Plácida y Vitoriano* we have two arguments. The first, immediately following the rubric, is in prose; it is simply the argumentary portion of the rubric as used in the earlier eclogues, here set apart under the heading *Argumento*, for the first time in Encina. Possibly it is an evidence of the influence of the *Celestina*, which, already in the edition of 1499, had a prose "argumento de toda la obra" and one also before each of the 16 *autos*. That such arguments may have been added by the printers is evident from a remark made by Proaza in the *prólogo* referred to above: "Que aun los impressores han dado sus punturas, poniendo rúbricas o sumarios al principio de cada aucto, narrando en breve lo que dentro contenía: una cosa bien escusada según lo que los antiguos scriptores usaron."[17] I think we do not need to attribute the prose argument to Encina.

The rubric refers only to the prologue in verse, and in these terms: "y añadido un argumento, siquier introducion, de toda la obra, en coplas. . ." This prologue is unpretentious and quite in the manner of the first and eighth eclogues. It consists of eleven eight-lined stanzas of *pie quebrado*, with very few dialectal peculiarities, although spoken by a shepherd, Gil Cestero. He devotes but five lines to the necessary formalities. His greeting, "Dios salve, compaña nobre," is only a slight variation of the "Dios salve, buena gente" of the first eclogue. The words with which he praises (presumably) Cardinal Arborea are very similar, even to the rimes *ramo*, *amo*, to those in which he there praised the Duke of Alba. The "acá estoy" with which Gil begins the introduction of himself appears in the second line of the same *égloga*. Then he proceeds:

Mas vos ¿no sabeis quién soy?
Pues Gil Cestero me llamo.
Porque labro cestería,
Este nombre, mia fé, tengo.
Soy hijo de Juan García,
Y carillo de Mencía,
La mujer de Pero Luengo.

[17] *Idem*, p. 25.

¿Vos mirais?
Yo magino que dudais,
Que no sabés a qué vengo.

Here we have the nucleus from which the *introito* grew, with the monologue of Fernández as a contributing factor. Gossipy, personal reminiscence is the keynote of the *introito*. There too, we shall find the speaker's introduction of himself, sometimes by name, his qualities, connections and acquaintances. From Gil's casual mention of his relation to Mencía, we shall see develop especially in Naharro, a long and detailed amorous episode. The prologuist's imputation to the audience of ignorance as to his mission becomes a *cliché* after Encina.

No. 82 of the *Cancionero musical* presents us with a colloquy between a shepherd and a gentleman, in which the former introduces himself thus:

Yo soy Domingo Pascual,
Carillo de la vecina.

This *villancico* appears in the first edition of Encina's *Cancionero*. and the fifth and sixth lines cited above are certainly an echo. The recital of pedigree is a characteristic of the early Spanish wedding or betrothal play,[18] and might be an influence here, although I do not believe so. The actor's introduction of himself to the audience is a trait of all primitive drama, and not peculiar to the prologue. There is a precedent, too, in Fernández, in the Christmas eclogue to which we have already had to refer so often, where Bonifacio gives his "gerenacio," beginning

Yo soy hijo del herrero
De Rubiales,
Y nieto del Meseguero, *etc.*[19]

The burlesque genealogy appears at length in the *introito* to the *Comedia Florisea* of Avendaño, but that is much later. In the prologue of Gil Cestero we have only a hint at such usage.

[18] J. P. W. Crawford, "Early Spanish Wedding Plays," *Rom. Rev.*, XII, 373. We shall treat this point in detail in Chapter II.

[19] *Farsas y églogas de Lucas Fernández*, p. 147. We find the same thing in the *Comedia de Bras-Gil y Beringuella*, p. 27.

The remaining nine stanzas are argumentary. At the close, Gil intimates that he is to be one of the two shepherds of the play ("que seremos dos pastores"), asks for silence and summons the actors to begin. I think we are to imagine him as carrying a basket on his arm; this basket he loses at dice to the other shepherd, Pascual, in a comic scene in the course of the play. Here Encina makes play on the words *cesta*, *cesto*, and Gil quotes the proverb: "Quien hace un cesto hará ciento."[20] This seems sufficient explanation of the use of the name *Cestero*. Naharro, in the prologue to his *Dialogo del nascimiento*, mentions a "Juan de las Cestas," and in that of the *Comedia Vidriana* of Güete we find the speaker saying: "No sé hablar más que cesto."

Mazzei,[21] writing on the Italian sources of Encina, comments on the fact "che per la prima volta troviamo il *prologo o introito*, como lo chiamerà il Naharro, che egli ha imparato ad usare dalla commedia italiana, mancando nella *Celestina; l'argumento* invece è già nella commedia predetta e l'Encina lo scrive in prosa anche lui." As we have noted, it is not certain that Encina wrote the prose argument, and the *Celestina* did have a prologue in the edition of 1502. Aside from this, Mazzei is repeating what Kohler[22] and Menendez y Pelayo had said before him, the latter calling Encina's prologue "remedo clarísimo de los prólogos del teatro latino e italiano: quizá la única cosa que Juan del Enzina tomó de ellos."[23] I do not think that is true. We may agree that the idea of using an argumentary prologue came to him from Italy. Cotarelo infers from certain words of the rubric ("agora nuevamente emendada y añadido un argumento") that the play, written before Encina's visit to Rome,

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[20] This *refrán* is found also as *Quien gana cesto, gana ciento.* In the *Libro de buen amor, copla* 1343, we find: "Quien fase la canasta, fará el canastillo."

[21] P. Mazzei, *Contributo allo studio delle fonti, specialmente italiane, del teatro di Juan del Enzina e Torres Naharro*, Lucca, 1922, p. 49.

[22] *Sieben sp. dr. Ekl.*, p. 132.

[23] *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, VII, pp. xci ff. In the preliminary study to the *Propaladia* of Torres Naharro, vol. II, xcii, Menéndez y Pelayo suggests that Encina may have copied his prologue from the *introitos* of Naharro, and is echoed by Mazzei, *op. cit.*, p. 64. There is lacking evidence to support this, and it does not seem likely that the more highly developed form, which the *introito* certainly is, should have preceded the more elementary

was there provided with the prologue.[24] That much we may admit. The occasion for the use of a prologue arose with the production of this play in Italy, under conditions greatly differing from those which governed the performance of the earlier eclogues. But I cannot find that Encina had recourse to Italian models.

What did he borrow from the Italians? He did not write his prologue in *ottava rima*, as did Poliziano in the *Orfeo*, following the usage of the *sacra rappresentazione*; nor in *terzine*, as did Ariosto in the *Cassaria*; nor in *versi sdruccioli*, as in the *Suppositi;* nor did he use prose, as did Bibbiena in the *Calandria*. He did not make his prologuist an angel, as in the Italian religious drama. Stranger still, he did not follow the manner of the secular drama in Italy and use a mythological personage, although there are three in this play, one of whom, Mercury, is especially adapted to the rôle of messenger.[25]

Kohler[26] remarks on the limited gamut of Encina's dramatic resources, and it is to be noted in this prologue. He had used a shepherd before to address a greeting to his patrons, so he uses him here. Gil Cestero is brother to Juan, of the first eclogue, and Mingo, of the eighth. The materials for a prologue lay ready to hand in his earlier usage; he had but to add a rimed argument, and behold! the first prologue in the Spanish drama. And what is more, here is set the precedent which is so soon to be followed by Torres Naharro and his school.

Before the influence of the *Propalladia*, which was printed in 1517, had time to make itself felt in Spain, writers of farce and eclogue were following Encina and Fernández in the use of an introductory monologue spoken by a shepherd. The *Egloga real*[27] of Fernando del Prado, or Bachiller de la Pradilla, has an *argumento* strikingly reminiscent of the *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*. It begins:

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[24] *Estudios de historia literaria de España*, Madrid 1901, p. 176, n. 2.

[25] Mercury recited the prologue in the *Amphitruo* of Plautus, which was sufficient reason for many Italian imitators to follow suit. For the Italian prologue in general see D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Turin, 1891, vol. II, pp. 270–273; also Creizenach, *Geschichte des neuren Dramas*, II, pp. 271 ff. For the prologue in the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, see D'Ancona, I, pp. 379 ff.

[26] *Sieben sp. dr. Ekl.*, p. 125.

[27] Performed 1517 (Crawford, p. 67). Published by Kohler, *op. cit.*, pp. 209 ff.

Dios salve acá, que salvó
Todo el mundo de pecado!
¡Soncas! ¿No sabeis quien so? . .
. . . . . .
Yo soy Telefo muy rudo,
El cuñado de Pascual,
Y aunque vengo de sayal,
Tienenme por gran letrudo
En mi aldea.

In the verses which follow he gives the argument of the play and closes with an apology for any shortcomings, headed *Protestacion.*

The *Farsa del mundo y moral,*[28] of Hernán López de Yanguas, after eight lines of dedication to Juana de Zúñiga, Countess of Aguilar, is begun by *Apetito,* in shepherd garb:

¡Hao! ¿quién quiere un Moço, zagal bien dispuesto,
que salta, que corre, que bien tira barra,
y pinta sambugas, rabes y guitarra
y haze otras cosas allende de aquesto?

This boasting is quite in line with what we found in Fernández. The representation of Apetito as a shepherd is significant in the light of later moralities and *autos;* as we shall see, it was a possible influence on Badajoz.

The *Farsa nuevamente trobada* of Fernando Diaz, written about 1520, has an introductory monologue preceded by the direction: "Entra primero Juan Casado."[29] It opens with a burlesque description of the speaker himself. He has one eye small, the other swollen; a mouth that can hold three pounds of bread at one time, and nostrils big enough to use as a sheep-fold. The next stanza concerns his pleasant relations with Toribuela, daughter of Anton, who

doquer que me vee arremete corriendo,
y luego me assienta un buen bofeton;
mas no me tengais por tan bouarron,

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[28] Written probably 1516–1520 (Crawford, p. 56, n. 1.) Published by Urban Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI,* Madrid, 1913.
[29] For text see Cronan, *op. cit.*

que ella tampoco se vaya quexando;
doquier que la apaño la lleuo rastrando,
y coce, y puñada, y buen repelon.

This last sounds quite in the vein of the Naharresque *introito*, yet 1520 seems rather early to look for his influence in Spain. I prefer to see here the effect of the burlesque *requesta de amores* which we shall study at length in Naharro. Perhaps, too, the *Auto del Repelon* was a contributing force.

An anonymous *Farsa sacramental* (1521)[30] begins with the entrance of the shepherd Pelayo, "espantado de ver el grande regocijo que en tal día se hace."

¿Qué fiesta es aquesta, Dios praze sagrado
Que tal prazentorio se haze en la villa?

If he had only known it, he would have worn his best clothes, and he proceeds, like Fernández's Bonifacio, to boast of his wardrobe:

pudiera con saya y muça venir,
jubón de branqueta, collar collorado,
cinto con borlas, cayado llabrado;
que en ellos no uviera a fe que pedir.

This ends our study of the prologue, or approach to a prologue, in those authors writing directly under the influence of Encina and Fernández.[31] In the following chapter we shall deal with the development of the comic monologue in the hands of Torres Naharro and his school.

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[30] Text of M. Serrano y Sanz, *Rev. de Archivos*, ser. 3, v. 10 (1904), pp. 67 ff.

[31] I have just seen the edition made by J. E. Gillet, in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xli (1926), pp. 860–890, of Perolópez Ranjel's *Farça a honor y reverencia del glorioso nascimiento*. The opening lines by Juan Domingo offer us another link in the development of the *introito:*

Esteys todos en buen hora
todos como estays ay
o bendita nuestra señora
que me arribo por aqui
vengo juria non de mi
y an de san junco sagrado
a seruilla de buen grado
dende alla donde parti.

As the editor says, this is quite in the tone of the school of Encina, and evidently belongs to about the middle of the first half of the century. The two following stanzas of Juan's opening speech sing the praises of the Virgin. These lines were not before accessible to me, since Salvá's excerpts did not include the opening stanzas.

The *Auto como San Juan fué concebido* (1528) of Esteban Martin (or Martínez), also reprinted by Professor Gillet, has an introductory monologue by a shepherd who uses the *Dios mantenga*, vituperates the clergy, talks of food and drink and forgets his errand. This may already show the influence of Torres Naharro, although the term *introito* is not used. Published in *Rom. Rev.*, XVII, 41–64.

II

The Introito in Torres Naharro and His Followers

The eight comedies and *Diálogo* of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro offer the first consistent use of a prologue in the Spanish theatre. The seven plays of the first edition of the *Propalladia* (Naples, 1517) as well as the two comedies printed later, are provided with an *introito y argumento.*[1] In six the argument is given a separate heading; in the *Diálogo del nascimiento* and the comedies *Trofea* and *Soldadesca*, there is no separation of these two parts of the prologue. But the break would be noticeable even without formal indication. The *sayagués* was scarcely a vehicle for dramatic exposition, and the argument, the serious part of the prologue, is given in a language free from the dialectical peculiarities of the *introito*, except in the *Diálogo.* The meter of *introito* and *argumento* is that of the play following: octosyllabic verse in varied rhyme-patterns, with the *quintilla* as the base, in four comedies; the same with *pie quebrado* in the four others. The *introito* to the *Diálogo* is written in verses of *arte mayor*, with every fifth line broken.[2] The longest prologue is that to the *Trofea*, with 304 lines; the shortest, that of the *Diálogo*, with 129.

The *argumentos* are much alike. They include the name of the play, number of acts, a promise of entertainment, a synopsis of the action (by *jornadas* in five cases), an apology for any shortcomings, and a plea for silence. Sometimes, as in the *Diálogo*, *Calamita* and *Soldadesca*, there is a reversion to the language and tone of the *introito*, and the speaker concludes with an insulting remark to the audience.

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[1] The *Propalladia*, reprinted by Cañete and Menéndez y Pelayo, forms vols. IX and X of *Libros de antaño* (1880–1900). Torres Naharro, in the *Proemio* to his plays, says of his prologues, "Partes de comedia, ansí mesmo, bastarían dos: *introito* y *argumento.*" Unfortunately, he tells us nothing further about them.

[2] For a study of Naharro's versification see the article of S. G. Morley, "Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega," in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. I, pp. 510 ff.

The prologue to the *Tinellaria* differs from the others. It does not use the rustic language, nor is it spoken by a shepherd. From the dedication of a rare *suelta* edition,[3] printed at Rome between 1513 and 1517, we know that it was performed before Pope Leo X and his cousin, Giulio de'Medici, later Clement VII. Due, perhaps, to the solemnity of the occasion, or because it was possibly the first play of Naharro presented in Rome, the tone of the prologue is sober and propitiatory. He opens with a very flattering greeting of the "alta compañía," begs paıdon for the use of several languages in his play, and promises them profit as well as pleasure from the performance. He explains the formation of his title from *tinello*, as Plautus derived *Asinaria* from *asinus*,[4] says the play will last two hours, and closes with the argument. This is the one *introito* of Naharro written under classical influence and showing no signs of the comic shepherd and his monologue. Naharro may have spoken this prologue in person.[5]

The prologuist of the eight other plays is a shepherd, as we learn from direct or indirect references to his profession. He introduces himself as such in the *Trofea;* in the *Soldadesca* he calls himself *villano*, in the *Jacinta*, *bobo*. In the *Calamita* he not only applies to himself the term *zagal*, but also introduces

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[3] *Cf.* Gillet, "The Original Version of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria*," in *Rom. Rev.* XIV (1923), pp. 265–275. It is interesting to note that as there described, this *suelta* edition had no *introito*.

[4] So in Bibbiena's *Calandria* (1513), to which the *Calamita* of Naharro offers some resemblances (Crawford, p. 99), we find in the first prologue ("del Castiglione") this phrase: "Calandria è detta del Calandro. . ." This prologue, however, is in prose. We can only say that both authors got their nomenclature from Plautus. Later (1536) we find the same thing in the prologue of the *Aridosia* of Lorenzino de'Medici: "una nuova commedia intitolata Aridosia, da Aridosio detta. . ." *Teatro italiano antico*, ed. Jarro, p. 307.

[5] As appears from the following lines, *Propal.* I, 344:

Si mis versos tienen pies,
Variis linguis tiren coces.

In the prologue of the *Comedia Himenea*, *Propal.* II, 19, we find:

Que si cayeron en mengua
Mis groseros pies villanos. . .

But I think we must not press this point too far; the author's need of self-justification outweighs the necessity for preserving the dramatic convention, and the change from third to first person is easy and natural.

himself by name as "Rebollo Pascual, el Tirado."[6] This is the only prologue in which the speaker is named. There is no indication as to which person of the cast recited the prologue, although each comedy has at least one servant or *bobo* who might have done so. I do not think we can say definitely that the prologuist does not reappear in the play;[7] the fact that in several cases we have an epilogue[8] pronounced by the clown of the cast would lead one to believe that the *introito* was spoken by him also. And we must remember that Encina, before Naharro, and Sánchez de Badajoz after him, use their prologuist in the play proper.

A study of these *introitos* soon reveals a family resemblance among them. We discover the same elements appearing again and again, and we conclude that our author, having found a working formula, was satisfied to stick to it, with slight variations. In which play did he first use it? The answer to that question is made difficult by our ignorance of the chronological order of the plays.[9] The prologue to the *Calamita*, for example, is in many respects the most primitive in form, and most closely related to the treatment of the shepherd in Encina and Fernández. Yet it was not printed until 1520 or later; while the *Trofea*,

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[6] Menéndez y Pelayo prefers the reading of the expurgated versions, "Rebollo Pascual," to the "Remojos Pascual" of the text. *Cf. Prop.* II, 127, n. 1.

[7] See Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, p. 91.

[8] This occurs in the *Trofea*, Mingo's final words being:

La comedia es acabada:
Valete et plaudite agora,
Y ficai tudos en bora.

A final *valete* is found also in the *Tinellaria*, *Aquilana*, and is coupled with a *plaudite* in the *Serafina*. Naharro is here clearly following the best traditions of Latin comedy. In Rueda we shall see the Latin words brought into the *introito*.

[9] Professor Gillet, in his discussion of the *suelta* edition of the *Tinellaria* (v. note 3), puts the date of its printing after 1513 and before 1517. The *Trofea* was performed in Rome, December 1514. The first edition of the *Propalladia* was of Naples, 1517. The *Comedia Aquilana* was first printed at Seville, 1520, or Naples, 1524; and the *Calamita*, in 1520. *Cf.* Crawford, pp. 98, 100. It is true that the meter of the *Diálogo* (*introito* and play) is different from that of the *comedias:* "5-line strophes of the *arte mayor* line, with one hemistich, aABAB, which constitute 66 p.c. of the *Diálogo.*" (Morley, "Strophes. . .", *Hom. a M. P.*, I, 510). The *introito y arg.* are wholly in this measure, but since the author uses it nowhere else, it is of no assistance in dating the play. Crawford puts it between 1512 and 1517. (p. 47).

which we know to have been performed in 1514,[10] has the longest and most developed of the *introitos*. It seems preferable, then, to center our study on the several elements of which, in varying proportions, the *introitos* are constructed; and we shall consider the latter as different phases and developments of one monologue, whose parts we shall attempt to analyse and understand in relation to the literature, dramatic and non-dramatic, which preceded Naharro.

The monologue as we found it in Lucas Fernández contained no direct address to the audience. The *introito* opens with a salutation, humorous in tone, and not modeled after the complimentary greeting of the prologues to the *Tinellaria* or the *Plácida y Vitoriano*. The formula *Dios salve*, which we might have expected Naharro to borrow from the latter play, or the first eclogue, we find only in the *Aquilana*, and much less sedately rendered:

> Dios, qu'estoy por arrojar
> Un Dios salve tan complido,
> Que abarque medio lugar
> Y un pedazo del exido.

The prologuists of the *Calamita* and *Diálogo* follow the lead of the first eclogue of Encina in treating the auditors as fellow-shepherds:

> Esteis en buen hora y en hora bonica,
> Sagales y mozas y todo el lugar.

is the opening to the *Diálogo*, and the wording in the *Calamita* is almost the same. The *Dios mantenga*, which becomes the stereotyped greeting of the later *introito*, is found in three cases. Its use in the *Soldadesca* is typical:

> Dios mantenga y remantenga,
> Mia fe, a cuantos aquí estais,
> Y tanto pracer os venga
> Como cro que deseais.

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[10] Performed at Rome in December of 1514 in honor of the Portuguese mission to Leo X.

More vehemently given, like the *Dios salve* of the *Aquilana*, is the opening in the *Himenea*:

> Mia fe, cuanto a lo primero
> Y'os recalco un Dios mantenga
> Más recio que una saeta.

The same salutation is used in the *Trofea*. The shepherd of the *Serafina* wishes his auditors "mil buenas pascuas" and long life, while in the *Jacinta* he laments his inability to address gentlefolk properly.

Encina, in Eclogues I and VIII, and in the prologue to *Plácida y Vitoriano*, uses *Dios salve*. The first appearance of the *Dios mantenga* in the Spanish drama occurs in his first Christmas play (Ecl. II), where the apostles, as shepherds, salute one another with that greeting. Vicente uses the phrase in his *Visitação*. I think we should regard this formula as being already archaic and provincial, like the shepherd dialect, and used for local color by Naharro and his followers. It was certainly considered vulgar and antiquated in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, as appears from an *introito* of Sánchez de Badajoz, which we shall discuss in the following chapter.[11]

After the salutation Naharro does not follow the example of Encina, or his own *Tinellaria*, in paying compliments to the audience. His attitude toward it is mocking and even hostile. The prologuist of the *Soldadesca* jeers at the intellectual pretensions of his hearers:

> Cada cual es bachiller
> Y presumen anfenito;
> Despues no saben comer
> Ni desollar un cabrito
> Los letrados
> Que enfingen de necenciados,
> Y apostalles he el cayado
> Que más de cuatro estirados
> No me hurten un ducado.

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[11] This greeting was in keeping with the rustic language and appearance of the shepherd—intentionally archaic. For a discussion of the formula *Dios mantenga*, see Chapter III, n. 50.

This attack soon becomes more serious than jocular. Starting from the assumption that they are making fun of him, as in the *Calamita:*[12]

No mireis al aparejo
Del zagal;
Que debajo del sayal
Tambien hay hombres de chapa. . .

he proceeds to compare himself, morally, to his auditors, to his own advantage. Thus in the *Soldadesca:*[13]

Yo villano
Vivo más tiempo y más sano
Y alegre todos mis dias,
Y vivo como cristiano,
Por aquestas manos mias.
Vos, señores,
Vivís en muchos dolores
Y sois ricos de más penas,
Y comeis de los sudores
De pobres manos ajenas.

This same theme is repeated in the *Trofea.* In the following lines he scores the greed of the clergy; given the chance, he too, could get fat:

Como estos cabezmordidos,
Que andan gordos, embotidos
Hin que quieren rebentar.[14]

If we are looking for sources, we may say that Naharro is here following the traditional treatment accorded to the clergy in the drama of his day. We have but to recall Fernández's portrayal of the hermit Macario in the *Egloga o farsa del nascimiento;* or that of the friar in the *Egloga nueva* of Diego Durán.[15] The hostility of the prologuist, however, is not only directed against the auditors as clerics, but also as scholars and courtiers.

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[12] *Propalladia* II, 127.
[13] *Idem,* I., pp. 291–292.
[14] *Idem,* I, p. 224.
[15] The treatment of the churchman as a ridiculous figure on the Spanish stage in the sixteenth century is discussed by Hendrix, *Some Native Comic Types.* . . , pp. 10–15.

From that standpoint, we find it an echo of the debate between *pastor* and *escudero* in Encina's seventh eclogue, where Mingo's defence against the taunts of the squire anticipates the shepherd of the *introitos:*

¿Cudais que los aldeanos
No sabemos quebrajarnos?
No penseis de sobajarnos
Esos que sois ciudadanos.
Que tambien tenemos manos
Y lengua para dar motes,
Como aquesos hidalgotes
Que presumís de lozanos.[16]

The antipathy between "town and gown," *pastor* and *letrado* found dramatic expression also in the *Auto del repelón.* Apart from these models, I believe Naharro's diatribes, especially in the prologues to the *Trofea* and *Soldadesca,* have a subjective basis. They are the transposition into pastoral language of a theme treated seriously in the *Sátira* and the third *capítulo* of the *Propalladia:* an arraignment of contemporary Roman society.[17]

If the speaker of the *introito* does not waste any compliments on his listeners, he has plenty of them for himself. From apology he soon turns to boasting in the *Calamita,* after introducing himself by name, like Gil Cestero, he proceeds:[18]

Yo m'entiendo del arado
Cuanto quiero:
Yo sé de ovejas y apero
Lo que el diabro no sabe. . .

Bragging of professional knowledge, while not occurring in the monologue of Fernández, is found later in the same play, in a

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[16] *Teatro completo,* p. 94.

[17] In the *Sátira, Prop.* I, 29, he cries out against a world without virtue, which sells its honor and laughs at justice. In the *Capítulo, Prop.* I, 37, he expresses the same bitterness against Roman society, of which these lines give the tone:

Basta que en Roma, a mi ver,
No queda mal por hacer,
Ni bien que venga en efecto.

[18] *Propalladia,* II, 128.

discussion over sheep-raising between Bonifacio and Gil.[19] The conventional pastoral repertory appears in the *Serafina*:[20]

Que de asnerías y desto
Harto sé más que quigera.
. . . . . .
Mas ¿qué hacen de callar
Algunos qu'están aquí?
Porque coñecen de mí
Que los puedo her cagar
A correr, saltar, bailar,
Her barreñas y cuchares,
Hondas y rejos a pares,
Y an, soncas, a quellotrar.

Like Bonifacio, the prologuist of the *Calamita* boasts of his popularity with the *zagalas* with whom he dances on Sundays and holidays, and who fight for his favors, sometimes treating him roughly. He names the girls of his acquaintance and says complacently:

De todas soy el profeta
Y el barraco. . .

The prologuist of the *Jacinta* strikes the same note:

No era el domingo llegado,
He me vestido el jubón;
Daba conmigo nel prado,
Con las moças del rencón.

Here, instead of cataloguing the village belles, he gives a list of the games he used to play with them, apparently of an erotic nature. This fondness of the shepherd for games is one of his traditional characteristics in the early drama. The shepherds of the *Egloga de las grandes lluvias* play at "odd or even"; those of the *Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano*, at dice. Games are also mentioned in the *Auto o farsa del nascimiento* of Fernández, and the *Auto pastoril castelhano* of Vicente. In the *Egloga nueva* of

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[19] *Farsas y églogas*, p. 146.
[20] *Propalladia*, I, 136.

Diego Durán a game is played in which a girl takes part, called "¿Dó posa la mariposa?"[21] This seems more akin to the games referred to in the *Jacinta*.[22]

Our rustic soon proceeds to a more intimate and explicit account of his amours. We make the acquaintance, in the *Trofea*, of Marenilla, the miller's daughter, whose wooing he describes with brutal realism:

Y ella váseme a meter
Tras un seto:
Yo la veo y arremeto;
Voy, aquí toma, allí toma. . .
Lóbado malo me coma
Si no os la puse en aprieto.

She died in child-birth, and he cries out in mock grief:

¡Noramala acá naciste,
Marnilla, tetas de suero!
¡Ay, perraza, que me muero!
¡Ay, cuitada!
¡Ay, boquita mallograda,
Dentecitos de caballo!
¡Ay! Dom' a Dios, que no hallo
Alimaña tan pintada.

In the *introito* to the *Aquilana* we are told of the meeting, courtship and untimely death of Lucía. Here, too, the shepherd laments her loss in burlesque fashion and describes her charms:

Qué brazones,
Qué pezachos, pernejones,
Bocacha de oreja a oreja,
Los ojos dos barreñones,
La nariz como una teja.

And she could throw an ox-goad four paces farther than he!

The better part of a century later we find Cervantes writing this description of a country lass:

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[21] Kohler, *Sieben span. dram. Ekl.*, pp. 311–313.
[22] These bring to mind the games played by the young Gargantua in *Gargantua*, Bk. I, Chap. XXII.

Bien la conozco, dijo Sancho, y sé decir que tira tan bien una barra como el más forzudo zagal de todo el pueblo: vive el dador que es moza de chapa, hecha y derecha, y de pelo en pecho, y puede sacar la barba del lodo a cualquier caballero andante o por andar que la tuviera por señora.[23]

And nearly two hundred years before the *Propalladia*, Juan Ruiz pays this tribute to a *serrana:*[24]

Avía la cabeça mucho grande syn guisa;
Cabellos chicos, negros, mas como corneja lysa;
Ojos fondos é bermejos: poco é mal devisa;
Mayor es que de osa su pisada do pisa.
Las orejas tamañas como d'añal borrico;
El su pescueço negro, ancho, velloso, chico;
Las narizes muy luengas, semejan de çarapico;
Bevería'n pocos días caudal de buhón rico.
Su boca de alana, grandes rrostros é gordos;
Dyentes anchos é luengos, cavallunos, maxmordos;
Las sobreçejas anchas é más negras que tordos:
¡Los que quieran casarse, non sean aquí sordos!

Were Ruiz, Naharro and Cervantes all following the same literary tradition? Or were they not all describing the same phenomenon? The choice of such a subject for a portrait is traditional in this sense: it is a manifestation of the strong satirico-realistic bias of the Spanish mind which opposes and balances a mystico-romantic bias no less typical. It is Dulcinea seen through the eyes of Sancho rather than those of Don Quijote; and the *pastor* of Naharro is, in a modest way, a forerunner of Sancho, just as Lucía and Marenilla are of Dulcinea, and Ruiz's *serranas* of them all. They represent a reaction against an artificial conception of love that began with the troubadours and reached its apogee, in Spain, with the *Diana*. More directly, Naharro was parodying the lovelorn swains of

[23] *Don Quijote*, Pt. I, Chap. XXV. *Cf.* also this classical description of the serving-wench Maritornes, Part I, Chap. XVI: "Servía en la venta asimismo una moza asturiana, ancha de cara, llana de cogote, de nariz roma, del un ojo tuerta, y del otro no muy sana: verdad es que la gallardía del cuerpo suplía las demás faltas: no tenía siete palmos de los pies a la cabeza, y las espaldas, que algún tanto le cargaban, la hacía mirar al suelo más de lo que ella quisiera." That carries us right back to the *serranas* of Juan Ruiz.

[24] *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Cejador, *coplas* 1012 ff.

contemporary pastoral lyric and drama, and the romantic lover of his own comedies. His *introito* is, in great part, a burlesque *requesta de amores*. Are not his descriptions of *zagalas* the obverse of passages like the following?

¡Oh qué rostro y qué faciones!
¡Qué garganta, boca e ojos!
¡Y qué pechos
Tan perfetos, tan bien hechos,
Que me ponen mil antojos![25]

The mock-grief manifested by Naharro's prologuists is a parody on Vitoriano's lamentation for the dead Plácida.

If Naharro looked for models, he found them, of course, nearer than the *Libro de buen amor*. He might have been influenced by this passage from the *Egloga interlocutoria* of Diego de Avila:

¡O hi de puta, y qué rabadilla
Debe tener la hí de vellaca!
Una espaldaza mayor que una vaca,
Y tetas tan grandes, qu'es maravilla.

Shortly after, Benito makes a lustful wish with respect to the same damsel:

¡A la hé, yo con ella pegara,
O, hí de puta, y qual la parara!
Según la rabieza qu'entonces tenía,
Entiendo pardios que no la soltara.

A similar desire is expressed later by Tenorio. The burlesque description of a shepherdess is also found in Vicente's *Auto dos Reis Magos*.[26]

We have evidence for the existence of a burlesque *serranilla* in two lyric compositions included by Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Antología*.[27] These are in the tradition of the Arcipreste de

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[25] Encina, *Teatro completo*, p. 294. Hendrix, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff., notes that the comic characters in Naharro's plays often burlesque their masters, especially in love scenes.

[26] Gil Vicente, *Obras*, ed. Mendes dos Remedios (Coimbra 1907–14), t. III, p. 35.

[27] *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. II.

Hita and give us the link between him and Naharro. One is a *Serranilla* of Carvajales, beginning "Andando perdido, de noche ya era," and describes his meeting with a "villana, feroçe, espantosa."[28] The other, entitled *Serranilla burlesca* (anon.), portrays the mountain girl in terms highly reminiscent of those in which Juan Ruiz delineated Aldara de la Tablada:

> Vestida muy corta, de panno de ervaje,
> La rucia cabeça traya tresquilada,
> Las piernas pelosas, bien como selvaje,
> Los dientes muy luengos, la frente arrugada,
> Las tetas disformes, atras las lançaba,
> Calva, çeïunta et muy nariguda,
> Tuerta de un oio, ynbifia, barbuda,
> Galindos los pies, que diablo semblaba.[29]

These two pieces, if not the direct inspiration of Naharro and Diego de Avila, indicate the existence of a *genre* which probably influenced them, and which leads back directly to Juan Ruiz. It is scarcely within the scope of this study to go into the sources of *Libro de buen amor;* Menéndez Pidal[30] favors the popular origin of the *serranilla.* We may admit as a possible influence on the development of the burlesque type, those lyrics of the *cancionero* literature known as *cantigas de maldezir*, frequently written to women, and describing their physical shortcomings. Here, of course, as Menéndez y Pelayo notes, we have the indirect influence of Provence by way of the Galician troubadours.[31]

The burlesque *requesta de amores* occurs also in the prologues to the comedies *Himenea* and *Serafina.* In the former, we make the acquaintance of "Juana la jabonera," who has a lamentable failing for strong drink, as we are told in a sort of *credo:*

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[28] *Idem*, p. 189.
[29] *Idem*, p. 197.
[30] *Primitiva poesía lírica española*, pp. 29–39.
[31] *Antología*, III, p. vii. An example of this tradition is No. 973 of the *Cancionero general de Castillo*, entitled "Coplas que hizo Guevara de mal dezir contra una muger," which deals in unflattering physical description. *Cf.* also *Cancioneiro gallego-castelhano*, ed. Lang, No. LIII.

No bendice sono el jarro,
Ni cree so en la bodega,
Ni an adora sono al vino.
Saben ya grandes y chicos
Con qué fe se desternilla;
Que a la hostia no se humilla,
Y al calez da de hocicos.[32]

This has its analogue in some verses of Jorge Manrique *A vna beuda que tenía empeñado vn brial en la tauerna*, which contain a litany addressed to "Beata Madrigal," "Santo Luque" and "Baeça beata." In the same collection (*Cancionero general* of Castillo, numbers 971, 1033) we find verses by Antón de Montoro addressed to ladies too fond of the bottle.[33]

The shepherd of the *Himenea* describes his love-making with the same stark realism used in the prologue to the *Trofea*. In the *Serafina* he expounds his philosophy of love:

Al demonio do el garzon
Qu'en topando con la moza
No s'aburre y la retoza
Como rocin garañon.

But in spite of this masterful attitude, he comes off second best in an encounter with Teresa, who beats him and spreads the news of her victory far and wide, to his great disgust.

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[32] *Propal.* II, 9. This calls to mind Luigi Pulci, *Il Morgante*, Canto XVIII, Stanza 115:

Rispose allor Margutte: "A dirtel tosto,
Io non credo più al nero ch'all'azzurro,
Ma nel cappone, o lesso, o vuogli arrosto,
E credo alcuna volta anche nel burro;
Nella cervogia, e, quando io n'ho, nel mosto,
E molto più nell'aspro che il mangurro;
Ma sopra tutto nel buon vino ho fede,
E credo che sia salvo chi gli crede." . . .

The first twenty-three cantos appeared at Venice in an edition of 1492.

[33] No. 971 is dedicated: "A una muger, gran bevedora," and ends:

A la noche soys un cuero,
Y a la mañana, tinaja.

The author is Antón de Montoro (el Ropero), who also wrote No. 1033, "A una moça llamada Catalina, porque le hurtó una botella a tener vino."

We noted in the monologue of Fernández a reference to weddings; attendance at these would naturally be reckoned among the rustic pleasures. It is not surprising, then, that talk of weddings should have a place in the *introito*. The prologuist of the *Jacinta*, after lamenting his inability to address his auditors properly, explains:

> Pardiego, d'otra manera
> M'acuntió nel desposorio,
> Cuando canté con Grigorio,
> Juanilla la pelotera.

The *pastor* of the *Aquilana* also finds himself at a loss for words, and recites a speech which he heard made by the Alcalde at a wedding, which speech strikes our rustic as being a model of oratory:

> Ñonio y ñonia, salve os Dios,
> Que vivais hasta hartar,
> Y os dé hijos dos a dos
> Y os los deje perlograr.

The mayor ends by wishing the *padrino* plenty of bacon, kindling, wine and grain, and long life to the *madrina*. It was at this wedding that the shepherd met Lucía, of whom we have already spoken. The prologuist of the *Diálogo del nascimiento* likewise mentions meeting his sweetheart at a wedding:

> Que el otro domingo de la desposada
> La vi con las mozas metida en la danza,
> Mandéle una carta tan pintorreada
> Que cro que le puso terrible amoranza.

In a study on the wedding-play in Spain,[34] Professor Crawford says:

> A number of Spanish plays of the first half of the sixteenth century contain as prominent elements the pedigree of a bride and bridegroom, a list of the bride's dower and of the groom's gifts, a marriage ceremony which is usually performed with burlesque features, and close with a wedding song.

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[4] "Early Spanish Wedding Plays," appeared in *Rom. Rev.* XII (1921) pp. 372–373.

He finds the earliest extant play of this type to be the *Egloga interlocutoria* of Diego de Avila, to which we have already noted resemblances in the *introito*. This play was printed early enough to have influenced Naharro, but we must admit that he had the same sources at his disposal as did Avila. In the *introitos* just studied we find mention of a list of presents, or at least a wish for presents; in the passage last quoted from the *Jacinta* we may have reference to the wedding song. We found besides an address to bride and groom. The burlesque genealogy has not entered the *introito* as yet, but Naharro uses it in the *Calamita* (Jornada I), and Francisco de Avendaño evidently took it from that source to use in the prologue to his *Comedia Florisea*. Pedigree and gifts occur before the *Egloga interlocutoria*, in our oft-cited Christmas play of Fernández, and a list of presents offered to a shepherdess is recited in Encina's *Egloga en requesta de unos amores*.[35]

Among possible lyric sources, Crawford has noted numbers 383, 384 and 386 of the *Cancionero musical* as being apparently songs written for weddings;[36] the first makes mention of pedigree and dowry. I should like to add numbers 375 and 392 (Escobar); these allude to gifts which, if not betrothal gifts, are presents promised to win the good will of the loved one. The earliest appearance of these elements in the Spanish lyric I find (as usual) in the *Libro de buen amor*. In the third *cantica de serrana* we have a list of presents demanded by the girl for her dower; we find the same thing in the fourth *cantica*, and in the third there is a list of the attainments which the Archpriest puts forward as his qualifications for marriage.[37]

The *introito*, in its use of this material, seems to me to be not so much a direct imitation of the wedding-play, as a development from the same sources. The question does arise as to whether a monologue of the type of Naharro's was not one of the features of wedding entertainments. The shepherd's boasting, in this light, could be considered as a catalogue of qualifications desirable

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[35] *Teatro completo*, p. 96.
[36] *Op. cit.*, p. 372.
[37] *Libro de buen amor* (Cejador), *coplas* 1003–1005; 1035–1038; and 1000–1001, which we quoted in the first chapter.

in a husband, as in Juan Ruiz; or rather, a burlesque of such a category. Reminiscences of amorous adventures and burlesque descriptions of village belles would seem to befit the occasion, especially after the solemn ceremonies were ended and the merry-making had begun. Yet we do not know that the *Aquilana* or *Jacinta* were intended as wedding-plays; certainly the *Diálogo* was not, nor was the *Egloga o farsa del nascimiento* of Fernández. Besides, this element does not occur in all of the *introitos*, nor does it occupy any one *introito* wholly. The simplest explanation is that Naharro took his humor where he could find it, and fused into one monologue comic traits drawn from several sources.[38]

Another diversion in which the shepherd of the prologue claims proficiency is that known as the *pulla*. This game, Professor Crawford tells us, "consisted of a contest in which one person wished all sorts of misfortunes, for the most part obscene, upon another, who replied in a similar strain."[39] This too appears in the *Egloga* of Diego de Avila.[40] The most important reference to it in the prologues of Naharro occurs in the *Comedia Trofea;* there the *pastor* tells of his victory over a certain Gil Granzones:

Que l'eché más repullones
Que dias hay en el año.
Mil pullas os l'embaraño
Naquel dia;
Froquéle cuantas sabía
Hin a veinte abecedarios,

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[38] In several instances the shepherd of the prologue thinks the spectators have gathered to celebrate a wedding: in the *Farsa del Santísimo Sacramento* and the *Farsa de la hechicera* of Sánchez de Badajoz; in the *Comedia de Santa Susana* of Alonso de Pedraza. The earliest occurrence of this usage I find in Gil Vicente's *Auto da fe*, which opens with the words: "Benito, aquí está la boda." This may have influenced the others. Vicente's *Auto pastoril portuguez* opens with the account of a runaway marriage. The shepherd of the *Farsa* of Fernando Díaz is called Juan Casado and tells of his method of dealing with women. The prologuist of the *Farsa del sordo* follows Naharro in recalling the festivity attendant upon a recent wedding, in this case his own. The only instance of a prologue actually intended for a wedding play (aside from the Latin *introito* to the *Farsa de Constanza*, which is not extant) is the *introito* to the *Farsa del matrimonio* of Sánchez de Badajoz, with which we shall deal in the following chapter.

[39] "*Echarse pullas*:—A Popular Form of *Tenzone*," *Rom. Rev.* VI, 157.

[40] Lines 857–966.

Porque sé sus calendarios
Mijor qu'ell Ave María.

In short, he overwhelmed the other with *pullas* until he went home reeling. Crawford found that these contests were especially popular at wedding entertainments, and the prologuist of the *Jacinta*, in his account of the wedding already cited, mentions one of these encounters. Perhaps we may see the influence of the *pulla* in the general tone of the *introito* with respect to the audience. Some of these prologues might well be considered as *pullas*, with the audience as the shepherd's mute adversary. In the *Diálogo* the auditors are asked to make no noise, under threat of the following:

La gran maldicion de mi calendario
Vos haga escocer de gran comezon;
A todos y a todas per hina el vicario
Arrojo una puya con su repullon.

The speaker of the *introito* to the *Serafina* issues a challenge to any shepherd in the audience to match wits with him, and closes with a threat.[41]

Closely related to his proficiency in repartee is the shepherd's claim to possess oratorical ability. It is true that in the *Aquilana* and the *Jacinta* the shepherd does not know how to address his listeners. But in the *Serafina* the speaker asks:

Decíme, en vuestra concencia,
¿Quien habrá neste lugar
Que os supiese saludar
Con tanta pernicotencia?

The *pastor* of the *Calamita* has told them all his accomplishments, he says:

Porque sepais mi saber
Y que han sabido escoger
Los que acá m'an embiado. . .

In the *Aquilana* the speaker, while lamenting his inability to

[41] Here, certainly, he is "hurling" a *pulla* at the audience.

speak like an *escudero*, later explains the reason for being chosen as prologuist:

Que llautor
No halló otro embaxador
Que arrojase más porradas . . .

The shepherd's assumption of a knowledge of courtly speech and manners is not original with Naharro. In Encina's second *Egloga en requesta de unos amores*, Mingo begs his comrade to watch with what ease he approaches his patrons:[42]

Espérame, Gil, un cacho,
Y mira cuán sin empacho
A ver a mis amos llego
Con muy chapado sosiego,
Más que pastor nunca hú;
Y aun quizás que más que tú,
Que has ya sido palaciego.

The *vaqueiro* of Vicente's *Monologo* indicates that he has been especially chosen:

Nuestro concejo y aldea
Enviame a saber aca
Si es verdad
Que parió vuestra nobleza[43]

Without these examples, Naharro's use of this trait is entirely consonant with his treatment of the shepherd as braggart.

Not content with boasting of his skill in pastoral pursuits, his amorous conquests and his social graces, the *pastor* must lay claim to clerkly attainments as well. In the *Serafina* he declares he knows more of church matters than a fat sacristan:

Sé sacodir el altar
Y engarrotar el crucero,
Revolver el pistolero
Y el libro del batizar.
Sé groñir y solfear, . . .

In the *Trofea* he declares he can sing

[42] *Teatro completo*, p. 105.
[43] Vicente, *Obras*, III, pp. 8–9.

Toda la *salverregina*
Por el son de mi villorio,
Hin a *Dios menajotorio*
D'aljobando mafestina.
Ya sé tambien que decrina
Lugo arreo
Dominos dominos meo
Con la media alimacriste,
Y el *cara m'arrebolliste*
De la *jodícame Deo.*[44]

Even here Naharro is not the first in the field; in the *Egloga o farsa del nascimiento* Bonifacio, on Macario's asking him if he understands Latin, answers

Sí, que a la ìgreja he andado,
Y zagal soy bien sabido,
Y hasta la *g* he aprendido,
Sino que se me ha olvidado.

Here Gil interrupts to say that he too has been a *monacillo;* Bonifacio continues:

Y'os argüiré de veras:
Dixi domino, de apodoño,
De apodoño de apoderas, *etc.*

Boasting as to musical knowledge occurs in the *Egloga interlocutoria* of Diego de Avila: Mingo asks Gil if he knows anything about music, so that they may sing a *villancico* in honor of the infant Jesus:

Tomá,¡ qué pregunta! sé todos los puntos
Del sol fa mi re, que avrás maravilla.

Benitillo, in response to a similar question, becomes very technical:

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[44] These garblings have been explained by Crawford, "A Note on the Boy Bishop in Spain," *Rom. Rev.*, 1921, vol. XII, pp. 150–151, notes 19–22. Consecutively, the references are to: *Deus, in adjutorium meum intende,* Psalm 69:1; *Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina,* the same; *Dixit Dominus Domino meo,* Psalm 110;1; *Quare me repulisti,* Psalm 42:2; *Judicame, Deus,* Psalm 42:1.

Yo, par diez, que cante diapente y mudança
Y al canto de guérfano yo le saguda
Octavas, novenas con voz bien aguda.
¡Por alto los pies! que havrás gasajado,
Y corchos y brevas; ¡tú pierde cuydado!
Con máxima y longa yo hago que acuda.

We find other garblings of liturgical Latin in Naharro's predecessors: *pricilim cruces* (per signum crucis), *Saludador* (Salvador), in Fernández's play; the latter also occurs in Encina, *Egloga de las grandes lluvias*, which certainly influenced Fernández. The earliest trace of this element I have been able to find in Spanish dramatic beginnings is in the *Vita Christi;* a shepherd tries to repeat the *Gloria*, which he has just heard the angels sing.[45]

unos gritavan victoria,
los otros cantavan gloria,
otros, indaculcis deɔ;
otros, dios es pietatis;
otros, y en tierra paz
homanibus varitatis;
otros, buena voluntatis;
otros, abondo que mas.

The distortion of words for humorous effect is one of the stock devices of popular comedy in all ages. Can we doubt that the writers of early *farsa* and *égloga* had many opportunities to observe the unconscious garbling of Latin words by illiterate peasants ignorant of their meaning? We may have here, as Crawford has suggested, an echo of the ceremony known as the *Obispillo*, or the Boy Bishop. Support is given to this theory, in the case of the *introito*, by the fact that the prologuist of the *Trofea* pretends that the audience is a congregation and offers to play the part of the priest; he bestows a mock benediction on them, in the name of the "Obispo d'Estordeña." In the *Serafina*, he threatens them with the malediction of the "Abad de Horados." All this is quite in the topsy-turvy spirit of the

[45] *Cancionero del siglo XV*, p. 21.

Boy Bishop. Yet it seems to me that the mere blundering mispronunciation of liturgical terms, which constitutes the greater part of this element in the *introito*, is far different from the clever perversions and parodies we should expect of the Goliards and kindred spirits who would be the ringleaders in such revels. It is different in kind, too, from the farcing of texts found in the *cancioneros*, or the version of the *Officium Defunctorum* or López de Yanguas' *Nunc Dimittis*, both printed with the *Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano*. Crawford admits the possibility of independent development for scenes in the early Spanish drama depending on a certain "ingenuous irreverence" for their humor. I am strongly inclined to believe that this element in the prologue is a natural growth from early crude attempts to portray the Christmas shepherds realistically, and that its nucleus is to be found in such usage as that of the *Vita Christi*, which is certainly a piously conceived work.[46]

One more comic device made use of by Naharro is to have the shepherd feign loss of memory. After he has indulged in the series of boasts and reminiscences we have just studied, he realizes that he has another mission to perform, but forgets what it is. He curses his poor memory in typical fashion in the *Serafina:*

> Mas¿ qué hago, gente honrada?
> Do'm'a la Virge María,
> Que n'os digo a qué venía
> Ni se me acordaba nada.
> ¡O qué memoria cagada

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[46] The English Mysteries offer an interesting parallel development to the *Vita Christi*. In the Towneley plays the shepherds challenge one another to imitate the *Gloria;* in the York cycle they apparently repeat the song (Tunc cantant); the Chester shepherds comment as follows: one says,

> It was glore, glare with a glee. . .

Trowle says:

> Nay, it was glori, glory, glorious,
> Methought that note ran over the house.

Another remarks:

> Nay, it was glory, glory, with a glo!
> And much of celsis was thereto. . .

In the Coventry shepherds' play they react in a similar manner. The fact that in Spain and England the same situation received the same humorous interpretation shows how natural such a development was.

De gallito, y an peor!
Tal toma'll embajador
Que s'olvida la embajada.

This trick serves Naharro to smooth over the break between *introito* and *argumento*. He uses it thus in the comedies *Trofea*, *Aquilana*, and the *Diálogo*.

We have now passed in review all the features of the Naharresque *introito*. We find it to be a humorous monologue built up of various comic elements which had attached themselves to the person of the shepherd, who appears as a mirth-provoking figure as early as the *Vita Christi;* with these were combined certain traits of a burlesque *pastourelle* which has its roots in the *Libro de buen amor*. The closest approximation to the *introito* before Naharro is to be found in the *Egloga o farsa del nascimiento* of Lucas Fernández, although certain elements were contributed also by Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente. To Naharro, however, belongs the credit of assembling in an independent monologue almost all the comic possibilities of the shepherd that lay scattered through drama and lyric before him.

It seems quite evident that the *introito* of Naharro finds all its sources in Spanish tradition. What, then, of Stiefel's assumption that it was influenced by the little carnival plays[47] of Giovan Giorgio Alione de'Asti, an obscure contemporary Italian poet, who wrote in a Franco-Italian dialect? Stiefel writes: "Was das Verhältnis zur italienischen Farsa betrifft, so ist es zu beachten, dass z. B. G. G. Alione aus Asti in seinen kleinen Stücken den Prolog, gleich Naharro, Introito oder Introitus nennt, eine Bezeichnung, die mir sonst nirgends mehr begegnet ist. Nimmt man hinzu, dass Alione auch mehrere Dialekte, Macaronlatein, und kurze 8-füssige Verse, untermischt mit Halbversen, anwendet, so scheint die Möglicheit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass Naharro mit jenen Farcen bekannt war."[48]

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[47] *Commedia e farse carnovalesche*, ed. P. A. Tosi, Milan, 1865.

[48] *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, V, 487. With respect to the use of the term *introito*, Stiefel's "sonst nirgends mehr" is rather sweeping. In England, for instance, we find in the Coventry plays of the Flood, of Abraham and Isaac, and of Moses and the Tablets, that the words *Introitus Noe*, *introitus Abrahe*, *Introitus Moyses*, precede the first speech of each of those

As to meter, Alione uses *rimes plates*, occasionally beginning with a triolet;[49] Naharro uses neither of these forms. The half-verses do not exist in Alione; Stiefel was misled by the method of printing in Tosi's edition, which starts each new speaker at the left-hand margin, instead of running on from where the preceding line stopped.[50] Nor are the *introitos* alike in substance, save that both give the argument. Alione's prologues contain facetious remarks, mostly scabrous or scatological, addressed to the auditors, especially the ladies. But the speaker—who is not a shepherd—does not talk about himself, does not boast, nor does he relate any amorous encounters.

The name *introito* remains the only bond between them, and there is no reason why Naharro shouldn't have come upon it independently. After all, how could he have known the farces of Alione? As Sanesi remarks,[51] these plays were for years quite unknown beyond the confines of Asti. And had he heard them given, although knowing Italian like a Roman, he would scarcely have understood them. The earliest edition is one of 1521,[52] at Asti, four years after the edition of the *Propalladia*. So there is

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characters. The fact that it is an invocation in each case, shows its close relationship to the Introit of the Mass; and from that to the dramatic prologue is not such a long step. In like manner Naharro could have easily hit upon the same term.

[49] The *Commedia de l'omo e de soi cinque sentimenti* (p. 15) opens as follows:

Ola chi vol oir s'accosta
Comedia e fantasia moral
Fatta in scorrenza, e vegnua in posta,
Ola chi vol oir s'accosta,
Che ben o mal cla sia composta
El fondament è natural, *etc.*

[50] As, for example, on p. 76:

Biatrix.
Ades pansavi ben sui vosg fag.
Prete.
Eccomi qui.
Biatrix.
Pianin, sta quag.

This would more properly have been printed as follows:

Biatrix. Ades pansavi ben sui vosg fag.
Prete. Eccomi qui.
Biatrix. Pianin, sta quag.

thus filling out the couplet.

[51] *La Commedia*, I, 398 (Storia dei generi letterari italiani, vol. XV) Milan, 1911.

[52] Tosi, p. viii.

as much likelihood that Alione got the term *introito* from Naharro, as that Naharro borrowed it from him.

The claim of French influence on the *introito* was made by E. Picot, some years ago, in an article in "Romania" on the *sottie*.[53] Although admitting that he found its influence nowhere else in southwestern Europe, he stated, with respect to Torres Naharro: "Cet auteur semble avoir connu la sottie française et s'être proposé de l'imiter dans les *introitos* dont il a fait précéder chacune de ses pièces." He later characterizes Naharro's prologues as being midway between *sottie* and *monologue*.

The definition of *sottie*, according to Picot, is as follows: "À nos yeux la sottie était une sorte de *parade*, récitée avant la représentation pour attirer les spectateurs; on ne saurait mieux la comparer qu'aux *boniments* de nos saltimbanques et de nos bateleurs modernes."[54] It is difficult to see how to fit the *introito* to that definition. The *introito* does not "drum up trade", seeing that it is spoken to an aristocratic audience already assembled; it does not advertise any cure-all; it does not boast of dramatic repertoire.

Of the forms related to the *sottie*, such as the *dit*, *monologue* and *sermon joyeux*, the *introito* is more closely allied to monologues of the type of which the *Valet à louer à tout faire*[55] is the most developed example, and the earliest, a little thirteenth century piece of Raimond d'Avignon,[56] beginning:

Sirvenz sui avutz e arlotz,
E comtarai toz mos mestiers. . .

This litany of accomplishments resembles far more the boasting

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[53] Emile Picot, "La Sottie en France," *Romania* (1878) VII, p. 247.

[54] *Idem*, p. 238.

[55] Published by Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol. I, p. 73. Des Granges (*De scenico soliloquio in medii aevi theatro*, Paris, 1897, p. 11) guesses its date as about 1575.

[56] Bartsch, *Provenzalische Chrestomatie*, p. 230. The only boasts parallel with those of the *Libro de buen amor* (*coplas* 1000–1001) are these following:

e fui boviers . . . (*l.* 21)
e fui corrieus arditz e grans (*l.* 46)
e fui mai de dos ans porquiers . . . (*l.* 62)
e fui manescals de cavals . . . (*l.* 65)
e gardei eguas per las vals. (*l.* 66).

already remarked in the *Libro de buen amor* than the shepherd's relatively modest bragging in the *introito*. And there, I think, is our clue: if there is any French influence, it comes in through the Arcipreste. I believe that there can be no question of direct borrowing by Naharro from French sources.[57]

Let me repeat: Naharro formed his *introito* by combining various humorous elements that existed in Spanish lyric and dramatic tradition before him. The proof that he found his *introito*, or any part of it, outside of Spain, needs stronger evidence than any so far presented.

The first edition of the *Propalladia* was of Naples, 1517. In 1522 we find the word *introito* used for the first time in the Peninsula as the equivalent for prologue, in the *Farsa de la Constanza* of Cristóbal de Castillejo.[58] Unfortunately the manuscript is lost, and we must content ourselves with Moratin's account of it. He describes it as having an "*introito y argumento* escrito en latin y en coplillas de pie quebrado: el Dios Hymeneo es el actor de este prólogo, cuya composición es en extremo fastidiosa." Whether this means that the whole prologue was in Latin, or, as is more likely, that part was in Latin, and part in stanzas of *pie quebrado*, is not clearly indicated.[59] That it was the usual pastoral monologue would seem to be precluded by its being recited by Hymen.

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[57] After consulting Picot, "Le monologue dramatique dans l'ancien théâtre français," (*Romania* XV, XVI, XVII), and Des Granges, *De scenico soliloquio in nostro medii aevi theatro*, and after having read such *Diz*, *Sermons* and *Monologues* as are offered by the collections of Montaiglon and Viollet le Duc, I am still not convinced that the shepherd monologue of the early Spanish drama belongs to the same category. The *pastor* is not a Jack-of-all-grades, a quack, a charlatan, an actor of many parts. He does not lay claim to any knowledge a shepherd might not naturally come by—a church-going, game-loving, merry-making rustic. Crawford (pp. 52, 92) has seen in the *introito* of Naharro and Sánchez de Badajoz the conventional repertory of the *juglar*. I have attempted above to indicate the various sources for the comic monologue, and several of them led back to Juan Ruiz, who may certainly be regarded as a *juglar*. To that extent I admit *juglar* influence, but I do not think it likely that the *introito* was taken over bodily from a pre-existent dramatic monologue, for which we have no other evidence than the *introitos* themselves.

[58] See R. Foulché-Delbosc, "Deux oeuvres de Castillejo," *Rev. Hisp.* XXXVI (1916), pp. 489–508. He gives in full Moratín's notice. As to the date, we have only Moratín's statement to go on.

[59] Examples of *quintillas* in Latin are to be found in Fernández, *Farsas y églogas*, p. 248, and Naharro, *Propal*, II, p. 161.

Gil Vicente uses the term, for the first and only time, in his *Auto da historia de Deos*, of 1527. The rubric reads: *Entra hum Anjo, e a modo de argumento diz o seguinte introito.* It is in the same unusual meter as the prologue to Naharro's *Diálogo del nacimiento*,[60] but there the resemblance ends, since Vicente merely gives the argument of the play.

We find it again in the *Colloquio de las damas de Valencia* of the Valencian Juan Fernández de Heredia, performed in 1524 or 1525.[61] But although called *introito*, it is not at all Naharresque, consisting of four eight-lined stanzas in the *redondilla* measure, the substance of which is purely laudatory.

In the period between 1530 and 1550 appeared a number of plays whose writers imitated Torres Naharro in language, plot, division into acts, title, and especially in the use of *introito y argumento*, not only in name but in substance. One of the earliest of these is the *Farsa llamada Ardamisa*,[62] of Diego de Negueruela. Typically Naharresque is the tone toward the audience, of which the opening lines give the key:

> ¡A la vuestra, ao! personas,
> o gente, o como hos llamás.
> Paresceysme aquellas monas
> que hacen cocos por detrás.

The *introito* portion of this prologue consists chiefly of abuse of the shepherd's wife, Llocia, who, he fears, is misbehaving behind his back. He will send her packing if she has betrayed him. A novel touch is his bringing the argument written down on a piece of paper. In act IV of the *Trofea* the shepherd asks Fama for the paper on which he has written down his speech, and Negueruela probably got the idea there.

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[60] That is, in *quintillas* of *arte mayor* with *pie quebrado*. *Cf.* Morley, "Strophes in the Spanish Drama" in *Homenaje a M. Pidal*, Vol. I, p. 510. As Morley says elsewhere (in a review of Crawford, "Spanish Drama before L. de V." in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1923, vol. 38), it is not certain that Vicente imitated Naharro in his use of this measure.

[61] Published in a reprint of the 1562 edition of the works of Fernández de Heredia, made by F. Martí Grajales, Valencia, 1913. For date and discussion of play, see H. Mérimée, *Art dramatique à Valencia*, pp. 71 ff.

[62] Published by L. Rouanet, in *Bibliotheca hispanica*, Madrid, 1900.

The opening monologue of the *Farsa llamada Cornelia*,[63] of Andres Prado, has no other heading than the rubric *Entrada de Benitillo.* He enters singing a little song whose refrain is "Ay Juanilla, Juanilla." He wishes a general blessing upon them all, not forgetting himself, and returns to Juanilla, whom he describes in burlesque fashion. He relates their first encounter and his brutal conquest. His accomplishments include the cleaning of altar pieces, bell-ringing, dancing, "gruñir y solfear," and he can "hechar los dissanctos" better than the priest:

> para mañana será
> el profeta sant pestojo,
> y sino vos toma enojo
> el otro se ayunara;
> y despues,
> las mozas ayunareis
> al santo descalabrado,
> y mira ques gran pecado
> si asi no lo haceis.

He says he can read and spell better than a "gran bachiller," but his examples are scarcely illuminating. He will not detain them longer with his harangue, lest night come on, and ends with a sort of burlesque benediction:

> comienzo en nombre de Dios.
> Dios las guarde de nublado
> y de turbion denodado
> y de toda ira de dios
> y tambien
> me las guarde sentaren
> de las mozas berriondas. . .

But he must stop, for he sees a shepherd coming.

This is the most extended use of burlesque liturgy we have yet seen in the prologue, but it is not a novelty in the Spanish drama

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[63] Printed in 1603, but probably composed in the first half of the sixteenth century. See Crawford, p. 81. Republished by Pérez Pastor in *La imprenta en Medina del Campo*, Madrid 1895.

of the times. The source of this *introito* is the second *jornada* of the *Trofea*.[64]

In the *Comedia Tidea*[65] of Francisco de las Natas we return again to the boasting which we found in the preceding. Opening with the orthodox, "Dios mantenga, buena gente," he becomes at once sensitive about his dress, and asks why they stare at him. Even if he is ragged he has many accomplishments: singing, bell-ringing, oratory, magic, and of course, wenching. This brings in the account of his ravishing of a stout baker's servant, described with the brutal minuteness usual in Naharro. The claim of magic powers occurs in the *Jacinta* (Jornada V). We have remarked it in Fernández, and find it also in the words of Llorente, "encantador," of the *Egloga pastoril* (Kohler, IV). Our present prologuist, after cursing his memory, finally gives the argument, and ends with a plea for silence coupled with a threat:

> y el que no callare, a fe,
> sorrabeme el saluonor.

If our other rustics have talked like lay brethren whose stupidity finally forced them to give up the cassock, the speaker of the *introito* to Francisco de Avendaño's *Comedia Florisea* talks like a gentleman's valet. After greeting the audience, he challenges any one of them to a duel, interlarding his talk glibly, and of course absurdly, with fencing terms. He can eat and drink politely, and talk to ladies and gentlemen. He used to live with a priest, who taught him clerkly matters. He learned conjuring (like the shepherd of the *Tidea*), and once evoked a demon from the stable door, saving himself by flight and reciting the *Ave Maria*. He gives the usual sample of garbled Latin, which is followed by an account of his intimacy with the master's serving girl, with the description of their detection *in flagrante delicto*. He concludes his tale of accomplishments, accusing the audience of trembling before him as with the ague, and then

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[64] This is the scene between the *bobos* Caxcolucio and Juan Tomillo, which opens the second *jornada* (*Prop.* I, 245–246). Crawford sees in it an echo of the *Obispillo* ceremonies; *cf.* "A Note on the Boy Bishop in Spain," *Rom. Rev.* XII (1921), pp. 151–152.

[65] Reprinted by Cronan in *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1913.

proceeds to the argument. He burlesques the genealogies of the wedding plays:

> yo moçuelo,
> por nombre tengo Pedruelo,
> y soy hijo de mi madre,
> y mi pariente es mi padre,
> y soy nieto de mi abuelo; . . .[66]

He would like to gossip with them much longer, but he is troubled with diarrhoea and must be gone. If the language is coarse, the method of getting his prologuist off-stage is not without its ingenuity. This prologue strikingly resembles in parts those of the *Trofea* and *Jacinta*. The burlesque genealogy is evidently based on a similar one found in the *Calamita* (Act I).[67]

The *introito* to the *Comedia Radiana*, of Agustín Ortiz,[68] begins, like the *Trofea*, by expressing astonishment at the size of the audience, and wishes that God would double the number, so that the king would have a fine army to go against the Moors. Then follows an anecdote in which the usual erotic incident assumes an urban form: one day in Valladolid he and some friends meet several prostitutes "muy vestidas de fiestas." One beckons him into an alley, but demands pay in advance. When he gives her but a *real*, she cries out and her *rufián* appears and forces the unfortunate countryman to hand over all his money. The argument and a plea for silence follow, with a very coarse threat. Ortiz is plainly no mere follower of Naharro here. The narrative of contemporary manners is more reminiscent of the *Celestina*, and a forecast of the picaresque type of prologue we shall meet in the *Viaje Entretenido*.

The prologue to the *Farça a manera de tragedia* puts before

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[66] Published by Bonilla y San Martín, *Rev. Hisp.* XXVII (1912), pp. 398 ff

[67] *Propalladia* I, 138. Hendrix says of the use of such recitals of genealogy in the drama: "It had its source probably in the reaction against the extolling of the family of the hero in the novels of chivalry, and in the continuing of the tradition of *echarse pullas* which probably had its origin in the classics." (*Some Native Comic Types* . . . p. 87). I think the pedigree of the wedding play and of the pastoral lyrics on the *requesta de amores* theme should also be taken into account.

[68] Published by R. E. House in *Mod. Phil.*, VII, (1910). He dates it as being probably between 1533 and 1535.

us a shepherd come to town in search of a place. The word *introito* is not used and we have only the rubric: "Entra un Pastor con el Argumento, como quien viene de camino." After expressing the usual gaping astonishment at the magnificence of the scene and the size of the audience, whom he takes to belong to the "tierra de los mudos," he says he has two errands to perform. One is to get himself a master, and he offers the following qualifications: he is of "gentil manera," can dance and sing, jump, keep sheep, and of course:

> sabo ser enamorado
> de las mozas del lugar.[69]

If they doubt his good breeding, let them consider that

> par dios hue un aguelo
> mas de diez años porquero;
> mi padre Gil Borriquero,
> y mi madre Benitorra, . . .

It seems no one wants him, so he will perform his other mission, and gives the argument and request for attention, after the usual pretence of forgetting.

Very much akin to the above, and with other elements strongly reminiscent of Naharro's *Diálogo del nacimiento*, is the beginning of the *Farsa del sordo*, ascribed to Lope de Rueda, although there is great doubt of his authorship. It is headed "entra el pastor," and has the same meter as the *introito* of the Christmas play of Naharro.[70] It opens:

> Dios os salve, mantenga, manténgaos a todos,
> y el gran Rabadán que criarnos quiso. . .

He speaks proudly of his father, "que fué desde niño en un gran estabro," the memory of whom, with his face "tamaña como un tinajon," causes him to fall a-weeping. After this gesture of

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[69] Printed in Valencia, 1537. Reprinted by Hugo A. Rennert in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXV, 1911; revised edition, Valladolid, 1914.

[70] For the meter see Note 60 of this chapter. This farce is published in Vol. II of the *Obras* of Rueda, by Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1908. The earliest edition contains a license to print of 1568, but the play seems to be contemporary with those we have just been discussing.

grief (like that in the prologue of Naharro's *Trofea*), he expresses his satisfaction with the present occasion, which reminds him of his wedding to Branca. In autobiographic vein he recalls the days when he used to say in church

> la solfa miré, y más que sabía;
> sabía la Salve, y el Ave María,
> y la Gloria Patris, Spiritus Santos. . .

But now he is a herdsman, and has served many masters:

> y so ganadero,
> y a veces pastor, y a veces boyero,
> y a veces aquel que rige la fiesta,
> y a veces aquel que bien lo demesta,
> y a veces nonada, y a veces vaquero.

After naming several girls who are his to command, he requests silence, apologizes for faults, and bids them farewell.

For this play we have only one date, a license to print of 1568, but certainly it is earlier, and strongly under the influence of Torres Naharro, although the term *introito* does not appear.

Nor is it used of the introductory speech in Sebastián de Horozco's *Entremés*.[71] "Entra un Villano cantando un cantar desta manera," runs the rubric, and this rustic is surely blood-brother to the *pastor* of Naharro. After his little song, in the manner of a *serranilla*, he expresses great longing at the thought of his sweetheart and recounts his several attempts to seduce her. She has promised to meet him at a street called Alcaná, and if he could only find someone to direct him to it, he would buy her ribbons and trinkets. He needs some one with him who knows how to bargain, for he hasn't much money, and the *ropavejeros* are terrible cheats. Perhaps the person approaching can direct him. Functionally, this is just as much an *introito* as any we have studied in this chapter.

To Bartolomé Aparicio must go the honor of being the first Spanish dramatist to use a dialogued prologue. His *Obra del*

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[71] *Entremes que hizo el auctor a ruego de una monja parienta suya*, published in the *Cancionero de Sebastián de Horozco*, Seville, 1874.

Pecador[72] provides us with the only example of a dialogued *introito* in the Naharresque manner. The speakers are two *bobos*, Rodrigo and Martin, and the *autor*. The two *bobos* in turn try to recite the argument, forget what they are to say, talk nonsense and end by quarrelling. The *autor* enters, berates them for their stupidity and finally gives the argument himself. I am afraid the idea is not original with Aparicio, since it seems reminiscent of the fourth act of the *Trofea*, in which four servants take turns in practicing making a speech of presentation to the prince, Don Juan.[73]

This brings us to the mid-century, and the end of our study of those authors who more or less closely imitated Torres Naharro's usage in the *introito*, and added to it elements culled from the body of his plays. There were other writers before 1550, however, chief among them Sánchez de Badajoz, who, although using the term *introito*, did not slavishly follow Naharro, but turned the prologue to their own moral and didactic uses. Of these writers we must now take account.[74]

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[72] Text in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, cols. 221–245. Crawford (p. 139) thinks the play is of the middle of the century.

[73] *Propalladia*, I, 271.

[74] To the prologues of this chapter should be added the *Introito y argumento* of the *Comedia llamada Grassandora* of Juan Uzeda de Sepúlveda, who closely imitates the *introitos* of Naharro, especially that of the *Comedia Trofea*, and who succeeds in outdoing his original in grossness. This play was printed by H. C. Heaton in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXII, pp. 5–75.

III

The Didactic Introito in Sánchez de Badajoz and Others

Each of the twenty-eight farces of the *Recopilación en metro* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, published posthumously in 1554, by his nephew, is preceded by a prologue.[1] This prologue is a monologue, humorous at least in part, and in the dialect used by his predecessors. It bears no separate heading, being introduced usually by the words "entra el Pastor y dize," or the like. In two cases he refers to it by name: the rubic to the *Farsa de la muerte* reads, in part: "comienza a hablar el Pastor el introyto siguiente"; and in that to the *Farsa militar* we find: "al fin entra un Sordo y un Pastor, el que al principio dijo el argumento." There are also three unattached monologues, possibly prologues to plays which the nephew saw fit to suppress, entitled *introitos*.[2] These headings might have been added by his editor; but if the rubric to the *Farsa de la muerte* is Badajoz's—and there's no reason to suppose it is not—he thought of his prologue in at least one case as an *introito*. The name is an apter one than *argumento*, since he rarely gives any argument of the play to follow.

The language of these prologues is the same pastoral speech used by Encina, Fernández, Vicente and Naharro. As in the latter, so in Sánchez de Badajoz this language has a tendency to lose its rusticity when the *introito* becomes serious in tone, as it often does. The speaker is almost invariably a shepherd. In fact, Sánchez seems to look upon the term *pastor* as the equivalent of prologuist. The rubric to the *Farsa del Molinero* describes the speaker as "un Molinero, que sirve de pastor, muy enharinado";[3] yet save for the prologue, his speeches bear the name *Pastor*. The directions preceding the *Farsa del Colmenero* inform

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[1] The plays of Sánchez de Badajoz were printed (1554?) after his death by his nephew, Juan de Figueroa, with the title *Recopilación en metro*. This was reprinted in *Libros de antaño*, Vols. XI-XII (Madrid, 1882–1886), by Barrantes.

[2] These are the *Introito de pescadores de tierra de Badajoz*, *Introito de los siete pecados*, and *Introito de herradores*.

[3] *Recopilación*, II, p. 105.

us: "Son interlocutores un Pastor, que se hizo colmenero . . . y ha de llevar el Pastor puesta una máscara de castrar colmenas, y una castradera en la mano, y una payla de panales en la otra."[4] These cases indicate, certainly, that Sánchez de Badajoz looked upon the comic monologue as the peculiar function of the shepherd and that the pastoral prologue had become a dramatic tradition.

A classification of the *introitos* of the *Recopilación* is difficult to make. We do not know the chronological sequence of the plays and so can not study the *introitos* in that order.[5] López Prudencio's[6] classification of the farces into *mayores* and *menores* will not help us, since some of the plays he lists in the second rank contain prologues of a paramount interest for our study, and vice versa. It is interesting to note, nevertheless, that the majority of the shorter and more primitive of the prologues belong to the secondary group. Professor Crawford's division of the *farsas* according to the occasion for which they were intended is likewise not valid for the *introitos*, since the same type of prologue is used for plays quite dissimilar in subject. A better line of division would be as follows: one group, those in which the traditional humorous element is uppermost; the other, those in which the chief preoccupation of the author is didactic. Even so, the comic monologues have their didactic moments, and the serious prologues have comic traits.

The difficulty is that our author's treatment of the *pastor* is not consistent. At one moment he is an uncouth rustic amusing the audience by his ineptitudes; then, suddenly, he is the theologian, explaining some point of doctrine. This dualism is not peculiar to Diego Sánchez, but is an inheritance from the dramatists who

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[4] *Idem*, I, 297.

[5] The references to a shortage of bread in the *Farsa de Salomón* and *Farsa de la ventera* might apply to 1523, 1533 or 1540. *Cf.* López Prudencio, *Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, estudio crítico, biográfico y bibliográfico* (Madrid, 1915), pp. 58, 192. The eclipse of the sun mentioned in the *Farsa de Abraham*, was supposed by Barrantes (*Recop.* II, p. 361) to refer to the eclipse of 1543; Hendrix, *Some Native Comic Types* . . . p. 38, n. 20, with the assistance of Professor H. C. Lord of the Ohio State University, fixed upon the year 1539 as more probable. The *Farsa militar* contains an allusion to the battle of Mühlberg, 1547; but since the passage containing it is a later addition to the play, we cannot date it from that reference.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

preceded him; it is already existent in the shepherd as conceived by Encina and Fernández. With the emergence of the shepherd as prologuist, the temptation to use him as the author's mouthpiece became even greater, and Sánchez de Badajoz constantly uses him as such. Thus the shepherd of the *introito* is also a *pastor* at times in the spiritual sense.

The result is that the *introito* in the *Recopilación* alternates between the comic monologue and the sermon, so that I think we shall find it most profitable to follow separately these two threads through the prologues.

In his portrayal of the shepherd, Sánchez de Badajoz closely follows the tradition of his predecessors. The usual traits are here: humorous salutation, expressions of awe, exclamations of delight in the festival, boasting, riddles, personal reminiscences. The chief influences at work seem to be Encina and Vicente. There are few of the prologues of the *Recopilación* for which we need to invoke the example of the *Propalladia*. Certain analogies between the two exist, but these may be due rather to their having a common source than to direct borrowing.

With respect to the salutation, we find the formula of *Dios mantenga* used in six of the prologues. The opening to the *Farsa de la Hechicera* is typical:

> Gente honrada Dios mantenga,
> Y si ansí no quereis vos,
> A mí me mantenga Dios
> Con vida muy sana y luenga. . .

and he goes on to include his flock, his cloak, his donkey and his wife. In the *Farsa teologal*, he begins:

> Gente honrada Dios mantenga,
> Que tambien mantien ruines. . .

In the *Salomón* and *Molinero*, having forgotten to greet them at the beginning, he stops to make his bow and give his salutation in the middle of his *introito*. The *Colmenero* remarks that God could keep all his friends "con pocos trigos." In the *Farsa de la Muerte*, the author devotes the whole prologue to lecturing his auditors for objecting to this form of address; but the discussion of this point belongs to the didactic side of our study, and we shall refer to it again in its proper place.

In the *San Pedro* and *Matrimonio* the audience is greeted by *Dios guarde.* In the *Ventera* it is a Christmas greeting; "Buena pro haga" in the *Farsa del Sto. Sacramento.* The shepherd of the *Juego de cañas* calls out to the audience to wake them up, as though they were asleep, and in the *Danza de los Pecados* he cries out that they shall make way for the dancers. The *Farsa militar* treats them in a fashion similar to that of the *Trofea* and *Soldadesca:*[7]

¿D'un necio vos espantais?
Ni aunque fuese el hombre solo.
Pues otros haberá más,
Si os catais, en todas partes,
Por delante y por detras,
Veréis locos sin compas
Más que cuerdos treinta partes.

Sixteen of the farces have no salutation of the spectators, but proceed *in medias res.* Sánchez de Badajoz is very fond of what we may call the exclamatory introduction, in which the shepherd expresses great joy over the festival which is being celebrated, or bursts forth in ejaculations of wonder and awe. Just such a lyrical opening is found in Encina's *Representación de la santísima Resurreción,* in Joseph's address to the Sepulchre.[8] Unrestrained joy was the mood of Bonifacio's entrance, although without apparent relation to the Nativity. Gil Vicente's *Visitação* begins with expressions of wonder at the magnificence of the scene, and in his *Auto da fe* I think we can find evidence of direct influence on Diego Sánchez. In this play two simple shepherds enter the royal chapel at Almeirim and express great wonder at all they see there:[9]

Bras. Juro a diez, más bobo estó
Que el triste que anda en aprito.
No te quellotras, Benito?

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[7] Kohler, *Sieben sp. dr. Ekl.*, p. 165, mentions a *Comedia del nacimiento* of one Bartolomé del Castillo, which began:

¡O cuántos necios están
A rededor, si miráis! . . .

[8] *Teatro completo*, p. 49.
[9] *Obras*, II, 5.

Ben. Más que tu bobeo yo:
No hago sino pensar,
Maginando nesta fiesta.

Later one of them exclaims

Quién hallara algun lletrado
Que supiera esto entender.

Certainly the following lines from the *Farsa del Moysén*[10] show close kinship to the above:

Juro al ciego que me espanto
De otear tan gran festijo,
. . . . . .
¡O quién viera dos a dos
Habrar algunos letrudos,
Porque nosotros los rudos
Sintiriamos, juro a nos!

In the *Farsa de la Hechicera* the shepherd expresses his astonishment in terms that recall Vicente's *Visitação*, even to the words "paraíso terrenal." The prologuist to *Farsa de los Doctores* rejoices, thinks he is at a May-day celebration, and wishes he had on his best clothes; this shows great resemblance to the anonymous *Farsa sacramental* (1521) mentioned in Chapter I. Expressions of joy open the *Salutación*, *Santísimo Sacramento*, *Santa Susaña*, *Matrimonio* and *Rey David;* also the *Farsa moral*, whose first thirty lines are identical with the introduction of the unattached *Introito de los siete pecados.*

Another primitive humorous device which Sánchez de Badajoz owes to his predecessors is the "sleeping-scene." The rubric to the *Farsa de la Iglesia* informs us that the shepherd "comienza a hablar levantándose de dormir." His opening exclamations are reminiscent of the *Visitação* and *Auto da fe:*

La boca abierta mirando,
De mí me estoy espantando,
Cómo no me torno loco.

[10] *Recopilación*, II, 117.

The *Farsa racional* also presents a shepherd who rises from sleep to begin his monologue. He wonders how long he has slept and begins to prepare his supper, interspersing comments on his sleepiness and hunger with pious moralizings. As he puts the kettle on the fire, he sings a song whose refrain is

> Dame el camisón, Juanilla,
> Más dame ora, Juana, la camisa.

Except for the lyric, we have here a strong resemblance to the *Auto o farsa del nascimiento*[11] of Fernández, in which a shepherd enters complaining of the rain and the cold, and recites a list of the good things he would like to eat, kindles a fire and summons his comrade, who is asleep. Shepherds are represented as *dormilones* also in Encina's *Egloga de Fileno, Zambardo y Cardonio* and *Plácida y Vitoriano*.[12] In Vicente's *Auto pastoril castelhano* the shepherds fall asleep and are awakened by the angel's song. It seems reasonable to think this trait, one of the most primitive characteristics of the comic shepherd, derived ultimately from popular Christmas plays which followed closely Luke's account of the Nativity.[13] The exclamations of awe and joy which we have already noted may go back to the same source: fear of the angel (as in the *Vita Christi*), and joy at the "good tidings."

Boasting occurs in three *introitos* of the *Recopilación*. The shepherd of the *Farsa de la Natividad* seems to follow closely in the footsteps of his prototype in Naharro. As in the *Comedia Soldadesca*, he mocks his auditors who "presumen de letrudos":

> Saben mucho del Igreja,
> Del obispo y de peroña,
> Y no sabrán a una oveja
> Conocelle bien la roña. . .

Nor do they know how to catch crickets, of which pastime he

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[11] *Farsas y églogas*, pp. 177–179.

[12] Prudencio notes the resemblance, but does not think Sánchez de Badajoz imitated the sleeping-scene from his predecessors (p. 116).

[13] Luke 2, vv. 8–14. It is to be noted that in the *Secunda Pastorum* of the Towneley plays the shepherds complain of the cold and their hard lot, and then go to sleep. In the Chester play the shepherds discuss the diseases of sheep. All these seem quite natural interpolations.

gives them a detailed account. But he has other accomplishments:

Yo sé las artes librales,
Y los dos mil caramillos,
Y los pecados brebales.[14]

The influence of the *Trofea* and *Serafina* seems fairly obvious here.

In the unattached *Introito de los siete pecados*, after expressions of great joy, we find a series of boasts that is a variation on the monologue of Fernández. The shepherd asks

¿Quien quier correr o saltar
O a beber poner las botas?

When it comes to drinking bouts, he wins every wager.

Sé jugar nones y pares,

and other games, of the same sort, apparently, as those mentioned in the *introito* to the *Comedia Jacinta*.

En las bodas sé luchar
Mil traspiés y zancadillas,
Y en el prado combadillas,
Y por la cuesta rodar,
Y her diez mil maravillas.
Taño y bailo las gambetas
Con Juanilla y con Costanza;
Sé guiar bien una danza;
Tengo mil gracias secretas
Que nadie me las alcanza.

This *introito* does not transcend the bounds set by Fernández and Naharro, except in reference to drinking, which is not a part of their monologues. The rest of this prologue is an allegorical description of the deadly sins.

The first thirty lines of the preceding serve also as the beginning of the *introito* to the *Farsa moral*, which is pronounced by

[14] *Brebales* might be a perversion of *veniales;* Barrantes' guess of *brutales* seems wide of the mark (*Recop.* II, 413). I have not been able to identify the *dos mil caramillos.*

Nequicia "vestido como simple pastor."[15] Perhaps Badajoz was influenced by the *Farsa del mundo y moral* of Yanguas; we have already noted that the opening lines of that play, really Bonifacio's monologue in miniature, were spoken by Apetito "como pastor." But the boasting in Sánchez de Badajoz exceeds that of Yanguas' play, and also that of his own *Introito de los siete pecados*. Where the latter proceeds to portray the sins, Nequicia continues to boast of qualities in keeping with his character. He tells how he cheats at cards, dice and even chess. Besides these minor arts his function is to stir up discord, sow jealousy and slander, and tempt mortals to sin. He tells why he dresses as a shepherd:

> Vístome de simples paños
> Porque entendais la conseja;
> Que agora so piel de oveja
> Se asconden lobos extraños.

Here the shepherd approaches the character of the Vice[16] of the English moralities, but this is scarcely a natural development of the pastoral monologue. Sánchez de Badajoz has grafted upon the figure of the *pastor*, found ready-made in his predecessors, the traditional characteristics of the Prince of Lies, with Yanguas' use of Apetito as a possible hint.

Boasting as to clerkly attainments and garbling of Latin find little place in Badajoz. There are a few sporadic examples: *corpos meo*, in the *Farsa de Santa Susaña; santi espritus*, *verbiterno* in the *Farsa del Herrero; susoncorda*, in the *Farsa del Rey David; eron duos en carnuna* in the *Farsa del matrimonio*. I think the

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[15] Prudencio suggests (p. 274) that the *Introito de los siete pecados* was the first form of the prologue to the *Farsa moral*, and that the title of the former was given to it by Figueroa.

[16] In Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, Iniquity enters dressed as Harlequin and introduces himself as

> True *Vetus Iniquitas*. Lack'st thou cards, friend, or dice?
> I will teach thee to cheat, child, to cog, lie and swagger,
> And ever and anon to be drawing forth thy dagger.

J. A. Symonds, *Shakspere's Predecessors* (ed. 1924), p. 120, notes: "The Vice was unknown in the English Miracles and played no marked part in the French Moralities. He appears to have been a native growth, peculiar to the transitional epoch of our moral interludes."

explanation of Sánchez de Badajoz's slight use of this element is that, unlike Naharro, he is essentially devout, although treating religious matters with a freedom that seems somewhat startling to us.

The device of having the shepherd forget his errand is used m the *Farsa de Salomon* and *Farsa del Molinero*. In each case, the prologuist has forgotten the formula of greeting, and begins over again in the middle of his speech. Sánchez de Badajoz does not use the trick for the same reason as Naharro, but follows it up each time with satirical remarks on the social pretensions of his auditors.[17]

The narration of amorous adventures does not play a large part in the *introitos* of the *Recopilación*. In those few in which it does occur, it assumes a more completely artistic form than we find in Naharro. The prologue to the *Farsa militar* is a little anecdote after the fashion of a French *fabliau* or an Italian *novella*.[18] The shepherd, after greeting the audience, complains that Clemente is circulating a tale about his having kissed a *burra*. He explains how it came about. One day he saw Clemente's wife washing clothes at the river and fell in love with her. After several unsuccessful advances, he fancied the time ripe for her capitulation. He went to her house and she fled to the stable. He pursued, and in the dark kissed the donkey by mistake. Now the whole neighborhood knows it, but

> Si besé burra en la boca,
> Besalda vos en el cabo.

The point of this anecdote is not unlike that of the affair narrated by the prologuist to the *Comedia Serafina*, who is angry because Teresa is telling everyone of the beating she gave him.

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[17] See the discussion of *Dios mantenga* in note 50 of this chapter.

[18] The discomfiture of a too persistent lover by a faithful wife is a theme not infrequent in French and Italian. In general tone and setting, this anecdote of Diego Sánchez resembles such a monologue as the *Botte de foin*, or the *Monologue de l'amoureux qui, en poursuivant ses amours, demeura trois heures à une fenetre pendu par les bras et enfin se coucha dans un baing, cuidant se coucher en une couchette. Cf.* Des Granges, *De scenico soliloquio*, pp. 67, 71. Prudencio finds no evidence of French influence on Diego Sánchez. (pp. 124 ff.).

The prologue to the *Farsa teologal* is a tale of marital infelicity.[19] The shepherd and his wife were continually quarreling. He started to beat her the other night, but neighbors interfered, thus emboldening her against him. He retaliated by making love to other women. His wife, patiently biding her time, finally succeeds, through a trick, in getting the cat to bite and scratch him in a vulnerable part. She nearly died with laughing, but finally came to his aid, healed his wounds and cured him of his bullying.

The erotic element occurs, as is only natural, in the *Farsa del Matrimonio.* After expressing, none too elegantly, his satisfaction with the occasion, the speaker says:

> Dios guarde a la gente toda;
> Asmo que debe ser boda;
> No creo ques son desposorio.
> Crecer y moltiplicar
> No hay pracentorios tamaños.

He wishes long life to him who arranged the wedding. What, he asks, is more delightful than a beautiful girl? What greater thing than to be one body and two souls? Man is only comfortable and contented when wed; Adam was not happy until God gave him Eve. So it is meet and right for man to marry and be fruitful. But let the woman remember Eve:

> La mujer no ha de creer
> A nadie contra el marido. . .

This prologue has been compared to Castillejo's *Sermón de amores.*[20] The latter, a poem of 2900 lines, is a highly polished

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[19] Cotarelo y Mori, in his *Colección de entremeses, loas* . . . p. ix, refers to this *introito* as a "cuento poco decente de Boccaccio," but does not specify which tale was its source. I find a faint resemblance, in setting, and in the intervention of the neighbors, to *Novella* 4 of *Giornata* VII, of the *Decameron*, but it scarcely warrants the assumption of direct influence.

[20] *Cf.* Foulché-Delbosc, *Deux oeuvres de Castillejo, Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVI, 1916. Of Castillejo's sermon, we do not know how many verses appeared in the fourth act of the *Comedia de Constanza;* only 47 v. are produced by Moratín, and these have nothing in common with the *introito* of the *Farsa del matrimonio.* The other *sermón de amores compuesto por el menor Aunes*, reprinted by Foulché-Delbosc in the same place, which he does not think Castillejo's, is also quite different from our *introito.* It is a treatise on courtly love, in spite of its announced text, *Crescite et multiplicate et replete terram*, and runs to 1622 verses.

sophisticated, non-dramatic composition on the theme *¡Qué mal vecino es el amor!* The repetition of the theme from time to time is all that links it to the sermon, and the flavor of the whole is classical, with wholesale citation of Latin authorities and reminiscences of the *Corbaccio* and the *Celestina*. Diego Sánchez's *introito*, on the other hand, is neither long nor learned. It consists in the shepherd's naïve comment on certain verses from *Genesis* (1:28 and 2:23, 24), a clumsy humor free, I think, from sacrilegious intent. It is very palpably the village curate, in an unofficial moment, being rather heavily jocular about a serious matter. The author is merely following the tradition of his predecessors in the religious drama by permitting a *pastor bobo* to discuss sacred subjects—an entirely different procedure from that of the *sermón de amores* or the *sermon joyeux*.[21]

On the whole, Sánchez de Badajoz's use of the erotic element in his prologues is very sparing. The three we have just discussed are the only ones in which it plays any considerable part. We do find a coarse remark or two scattered through some of the other *introitos*, but nothing to equal in grossness certain of the prologues of Naharro and his followers.[22]

Personal reminiscence of other than amorous adventures forms the chief ingredient of several prologues of the *Recopilación*. The *Farsa del molinero* is preceded by a humorous account of the difficulties of a miller's life. The prologuist of the *Farsa del colmenero* tells how he was induced by some village lasses to get them wax for the making of cosmetics, and how he was stung by the bees and called a fool by the girls for his pains. The shepherd of the *Farsa de Salomón* enters chewing acorns and describes his attempts to find a substitute

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[21] In such French productions as those sermons on love, women and marriage which grew into an independent *genre* (*Cf.* Picot, *Le monologue dramatique*, in *Romania*, XV, XVI, XVII), but which may derive ultimately from the sermon which usually preceded the medieval mystery (see Des Granges, *De scenico soliloquio*, pp. 24–42), we find the humor to consist largely in the contrast between the frivolous content and the serious sermon form in which it is cast. In Sánchez de Badajoz, however, it is the matter which is serious, the manner which is light.

[22] As López Prudencio remarks: "Llega nuestro poeta a esos extremos con la risa seca de la ironía en los labios, con el íntimo y austero desprecio de un corazón puro, que apela a la desnudez para dejar en cueros a la lujuria ante los azotes de sus burlas," p. 85.

for bread, of which there is a shortage.[23] In the *Farsa del herrero*, the shepherd, seeing the smith at his forge, thinks himself in Hell and wonders which of his sins has caused him to be sent there.[24]

Although Sánchez de Badajoz follows closely the usage of his predecessors in the treatment of the shepherd as a comic figure in the *introito*, he does not often make him the bearer of the argument. The term *argumento* occurs once in the *Recopilación*, in reference to the prologue of the *Farsa militar*,[25] which gives a detailed exposition of the action to follow. Argumentary matter is found also in the prologues of the *Farsa de Isaac*, *Farsa de la ventera*, *Farsa de los doctores* and *Farsa del Rey David*. In few cases, of course, was any argument necessary, since the plays dealt with Bible stories which would be familiar to the audience.

Like the argument, the plea for attention seldom occurs. We find it in the prologues of the *Danza de los pecados*, *Farsa de los doctores*, *Farsa de Isaac*, *Farsa de la Salutación*. In the *Farsa de la ventera* there is a promise of entertainment, and the *Farsa de la Natividad* couples a plea to the audience to keep awake with a promise of profit and pleasure to be derived from the play. In general, our author takes the interest and attention of his auditors for granted, and although nowhere as grossly insulting to them as other users of the *introito*, his tone is seldom conciliatory. In two cases he apologizes for possible defects in his work. At the end of the *Farsa de la Salutación* the shepherd begs pardon for having been too prolix, and in the *Farsa de la Natividad* he asks his auditors to take the will for the deed and to excuse the many shortcomings of the play. The last two lines, however, reveal the genuine *introito* spirit:

> Quien no quisier perdonar,
> Que se quede por ruin.

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[23] The rubric reads, "este año hubo muy gran falta de pan." *Recop.* I, 215 For the date, see note 5 above.

[24] This is an introductory monologue, but not really an *introito*, since there is no direct address of the audience. The shepherd concludes this play with an observation on temperance.

[25] *Recop.* I, 352: "al fin entra un *Sordo* y un *Pastor*, el que al principio dijo el argumento."

The shepherd-prologuist is often used to name and describe the other characters of the play (for we must remember that the *pastor* nearly always remains on the stage, and usually takes part in the play proper).[26] Sometimes he merely calls the attention of the audience to the speaker who follows him, as in the *Farsa militar* ("Mirá el diablo si tarda."); he may add some comment, at times merely descriptive, as in the *Farsa de Santa Susana*,[27] at others derogatory, as in the *Farsa teologal:*

¿Quién es aquel percutido
Que viene cucuruzado
Como capon señalado?
Aun nunca yo tal he vido.

In the *Farsa del Rey David*, the approaching hero is thus described:

Veislo, vien David aquí,
La barba rufa, bermeja,
Revuelto en aca pelleja,
Saludallo he juriamí.

In those plays in which the *personæ* are already present on the stage (or *carro*) when the prologuist begins,[28] it is obviously an aid to the audience to have them pointed out and named. A good example is the *Farsa de la Iglesia*, of which the characters Church and Synagogue are not only described but respectively

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[26] The only cases in which the shepherd does not take part in the play are the farces *Salutación, Ventera, Isaac, Sta. Susana, Abraham, Iglesia, Danza de los pecados*, and *Militar*. But the shepherd remains on the stage to make asides to the audience in all the plays except the *Hechicera, Militar* and *Racional*, where he makes an exit after the prologue, but returns later.

[27] After the prologue of this play, we have a sort of *débat* between the shepherd and the gardener on work *versus* idleness, and a defense of his trade by the gardener—all before the play proper. Crawford considers this all as prologue (p. 59), in which case we should have 17 pages of prologue to 12 of play. Interpolations of this type occur so frequently in Diego Sánchez, that I see no necessity for classing this one as part of the prologue merely because it follows it. In that case we must consider the debate between the shepherd and his wife which follows the *introito* of the *Farsa del matrimonio*, as part of the prologue. But I fail to see the difference between these passages and other passages of moralizing and comedy intercalated so often in the plays of the *Recopilación*.

[28] As in the *Sto. Sacramento, Doctores, Isaac, Herrero, Natividad, Santa Bárbara*, and *Iglesia*.

praised and condemned. These several methods of presenting the persons of the play show an advance over the more primitive device of having each speaker introduce himself,[29] although it should be noted that Diego Sánchez on several occasions[30] follows the older tradition, instead of using his *pastor* for the purpose.

There is one function that is common to all but a few of the prologues of the *Recopilación*, and that is the didactic one. The humorous side of the shepherd we have already studied, but, as was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the shepherd of the prologues (as well as of the farces) is two persons—one the traditional *pastor bobo*, the other a priest. This double rôle is explained by the shepherd of the *Farsa teologal:*

> Que yo a la verdad me allego,
> Que entre reir y reir
> Bueno es la verdad decir,
> Que éste es oficio de crego.
> Y por esto soy venido. . .

This seems to be Sánchez de Badajoz in person. The author as speaker is also clearly indicated in the prologue to the *Farsa del Santísimo Sacramento*, from the words of greeting extended to the clergy in the audience:

> Los abades rebentados
> Cuantos hoy hay en el mundo,
> Y los frailes lo segundo
> Quedásemos bien librados.

Further evidence is found in the epilogues, already mentioned, of the *Farsa de la Salutación* ("Que en fin, yo lo he trabajado.") and *Farsa de la Natividad* ("Suplan mis muchos defetos"). Whether or not the author played the rôle of shepherd in his other farces, this much is certain: the prologuist, in his serious moments, is the mouth-piece of Diego Sánchez, and his chief

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[29] As occurs, for instance, in the little piece "para la semana santa," of Gómez Manrique, which begins: "Yo soy aquella Maria . . ." Later, John the Baptist, on his first appearance, says: "Yo soy Juan." Such self-introductions are a trait—and a weakness—of all primitive drama.

[30] In the *Farsa racional*, *Farsa de Tamar*, and *Farsa militar*.

function is to explain the religious signification of the play and make its moral clear to the dullest of his auditors.[31]

These prologue-sermons treat a variety of topics, usually drawn from the subject of the play, or else related to the occasion on which the play was presented. Thus the prologue of the *Farsa de Isaac*, a Corpus play, deals with the dogma of the Real Presence. Isaac was deceived in all senses save that of hearing, therefore, we should have faith in the miracle we hear proclaimed by the words of the Mass, in spite of the evidence of our other senses.[32] The same doctrine receives treatment in the *Farsa de Santa Susana:* the prologuist, holding up his hand, challenges the audience to tell what moves it. He scoffs at explanation in terms of physical forces, "Que allá, mi fe, no es son Dios." So let them have faith in the words of God which proclaim his Presence in the Eucharist. In the *Farsa de Abraham*, the fact that Abraham, although he sees three angels, addresses them as one, is adduced as a reason for belief in the Trinity.[33]

The prologue of the *Farsa del juego de cañas* is an exhortation to awake from sin and prepare for the Judgment. Sinners are likened to players in a game, in which God holds the highest card. The soul sleeping in sin[34] is symbolized by the shepherd

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[31] I do not agree with López Prudencio's statement that the prologues of Diego Sánchez are "casi siempre sin relación alguna con la fábula que va a ponerse en escena" (p. 131). It is true he seldom gives the argument, but he nearly always points a moral, or preaches a sermon, which is appropriate either to the play itself, or the occasion on which it is presented. The only cases of prologues unrelated to play or occasion are those to the *Santísimo Sacramento, Santa Bárbara, Teologal* and *Muerte.*

[32] In the *Tractado del Santísimo Sacramento* of Fray Ambrosio Montesino (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología,* IV, 231) we find three stanzas in praise of the sense of hearing, headed, "Alaba el sentido del oír, sobre todos los otros cuatro sentidos, en la Hostia." Here and in Diego Sánchez we find the germ of what developed into the *Loas de los cinco sentidos* of Calderón and other religious dramatists of the seventeenth century.

[33] *Cf.* Saint Isidore of Seville, *Liber numerorum,* Chap. IV, 15 (Migne Vol. 83, p. 182, sec. 223): "Tres namque angelos Abraham sub Trinitatis imagine vidit . . ." Also his *Allegoriae quaedam Scripturae Sacre,* 21 (Migne, Vol. 83, p. 104, sec. 121): "Tres angeli ad eum venientes divinam historialem insinuant Trinitatem."

[34] Long before Diego Sánchez, Aurelius Prudentius, in his "Hymn at Cock-crow" (Cathemerinon I), had used the sleep of the body to represent the sleep of the soul sunk in sin (verses 25–36). This hymn closes with reflections on the vanity of all human pursuits, and an exhortation to lead a new life (V. 77–100). *Cf. Hymns of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens,* George Morison, London, 1889.

of the *Farsa racional del libre albedrío*, who rises from sleep to begin his prologue, musing on the follies of his past life. It is interesting here to see Diego Sánchez turning to moral uses the *pastor dormilón* of his predecessors. In the *Farsa de Abraham* a moral is drawn from a recent eclipse of the sun:[35] God is the Infinite Sun, whose light and warmth are withdrawn from the soul through sin. The shepherd of the *Farsa de Salomón* bases his sermon on repentance on a bread-famine,[36] which he fears has been sent as a punishment for the sins of the people. The idea of sin is made concrete in the *Farsa de Santa Bárbara* by having the *pastor* enter wearing three wallets: one in front, which is filled with the sins of others; one behind, filled with his own; and a little one at his side containing his good deeds. He repeats the parable of the Sower and urges his auditors to prepare for the time of accounting.[37]

The *introito* (unattached) of the *Siete Pecados*,[37] in addition to the boasting portion with which we have already dealt, describes the Deadly Sins in a metaphor in which they are likened to bulls,[38] and the Virtues to goads with which to quell them. We meet the Sins again in the *Danza de los Pecados*, but without the boasting shepherd or the allegory of the bulls, although the dancers are referred to as "bestias" and "fieros animales." The *pastor* calls out to make way for the dancers, and makes a running commentary on the action throughout; his function is

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[35] The rubric runs: "este año se crisó el sol las once partes." See note 5 above.

[36] *Cf.* note 5 above.

[37] The parable of the two wallets, one before for the faults of others, one behind for our own, is at least as old as Phaedrus (Book IV, Fable IX). La Fontaine drew upon the same source for his fable, *La Besace* (Book I, Fable 7).

[38] Juan Ruiz (*cop.* 1579–1605) deals with the Deadly Sins in the passage entitled, "De cuales armas se debe armar todo Christiano para vencer el Diablo, el Mundo e la Carne," but he does not use the figure of the bulls. The *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, stanza XIV (*Antología* of M. y P., III, 12) refer to the sins as "siete lobos denodados." The only sixteenth century writer, besides Sánchez de Badajoz, in which I have found the figure drawn from bull-fighting, is Alonso de Ledesma, whose *Juego de Noche Buena* entitled *A los siete pecados mortales* (B. A. E. vol. 35, p. 178), begins:

> El príncipe de tinieblas
> Siete toros encerro, etc.

that of a chorus.[39] This play greatly resembles in its structure the older *Dança general*,[40] in which Death plays the same rôle of *choragus* for which Sánchez de Badajoz uses the shepherd.

The shepherd of the *Farsa racional*, while preparing his supper, moralizes on the evils of gambling and decides that the only way to resist temptation is to marry Reason to Free Will. Man can never thrive on ill-gotten gains. The *introito* of the *Farsa de la ventera* shows us the shepherd in a pessimistic mood, due to a prolonged diet of barley.[41] He complains of the hardships of life and the vices of the times, but ends with the pious reflection that the sufferings of the body enrich the soul. A much bitterer arraignment of wealth and social injustice is found in the prologue of the *Farsa de la Fortuna o Hado*. The *pastor* compares the wretchedness of his lot with that of his auditors, and cannot understand why rascals are allowed to prosper. He is ready to accuse God of unfairness, when a *caballero* appears and converts the doubting rustic to the proper Christian attitude—a reversal of the author's usual procedure, since the *caballero*, not the shepherd, is his mouth-piece here.

The prologue of the *Farsa del Rey David* is a sermon on contentment. Riches are of no avail, for the poor shepherd with his bread and cheese is happier than the rich with their capons. Let men, like David, win happiness by obedience to the will of God. The same note is struck again in the *introito* of the *Farsa de Salomón*. The shepherd, after his comments on the bread-famine (already noted), launches into a diatribe against worldly vanity and the pursuit of wealth. In this prologue, as in the

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[39] It is evidently this analogy with the chorus which leads López Prudencio to call the *introito* "el único vestigio clásico en el teatro de Sánchez de Badajoz." I suspect him here of merely echoing Menéndez y Pelayo's statement concerning the *introito* in Naharro (*Estud. prelim.*, xcv, in *Propalladia*, II. If the medieval sermon is classic, then Diego Sánchez's *pastor* is a classic remnant, not otherwise. His interpolations and asides are the natural development of those "exclamaciones del autor," with which the works of Montesino and Iñigo López de Mendoza are so plentifully sprinkled.

[40] The fifteenth century *Dança general de la muerte*. After a summary headed "Prólogo en la trasladación," Death boasts of her power over mortals; she is followed by a Preacher, who exhorts men to live righteously; then the Dance begins, Death calling upon each of the characters in turn, just as the Praecentor of the Prophet Play called upon the prophets.

[41] Owing to the wheat famine already referred to. *Cf.* n. 5, above.

preceding, the poor, honest *villano* is held up as the moral superior of the rich noble. This antithesis reminds us of the *introitos* of the comedies *Trofea* and *Soldadesca*;[42] in Naharro, however, the sermon element is a digression, while in Diego Sánchez it is in direct relation with the play following.[43]

The *Farsa de San Pedro* affords an opportunity to the proloquist to soliloquize on the two-fold function of the clergy, as shepherds of souls and fishers of men,[44] in a profusion of metaphors that include the Sea of Sin, the Bait of Heaven, the Crook of Chastisement and the Pasture of Doctrine. In the concluding monologue of the *Farsa de la Salutación*,[45] the author uses the example of Mary to preach chastity and humility to his *confrères*. He makes a more pointed attack on his fellow clergy in the *introito* of the *Farsa de la Muerte*, which, as he states in the rubric, "fué hecho para los canónigos de Badajoz, porque se quejaron que les dijo en una farsa Dios mantenga."[46] He upbraids them for their vanity and idleness; they should be glad to be shod and clothed, for the first monks went ragged and barefoot. They are the knights of this earthly battle; they are the mirrors of the people and should keep themselves unsullied. In pastoral metaphor he expresses his fears for the safety of their parishioners:

> Esto es lo que a mí pesa,
> Que a falta de mayorales,
> Se pierdan los pegujales
> Y se quema la dehesa.

But he exempts from blame their own "huerte rabadán" (pre-

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[42] We must not forget that Naharro, in these two cases, anticipated the didactic use of the prologue in Diego Sánchez.

[43] In this, at least, Sánchez de Badajoz is superior to his predecessors.

[44] Mark 1: 17; John 21: 15–17.

[45] The sermon-structure is especially evident in this farce. It is really a sermon to which the Annunciation (the representation of which takes up only 25 lines!) serves as text. The structure of the *Farsa de San Pedro* is the same. I should think these plays, because of their primitive form, among the earliest of our author. They are "farced" sermons, in the truest sense of the word.

[46] *Recopilación*, II, 253. López Prudencio believes this direction to have been added by Figueroa. I do not consider the subject of *dijo* to be Sánchez de Badajoz, but the *pastor*, mentioned earlier in the rubric.

sumably Cardinal Silíceo), with whose praise the prologue closes.[47]

As López Prudencio remarks,[48] it is impossible to determine which of the prologues containing the greeting *Dios mantenga* aroused the ire of the canons of Badajoz. The prologues of the *Farsa teologal*, *Farsa de la hechicera* and *Farsa del colmenero* open with the phrase; in the prologues of the *Farsa del molinero* and the *Farsa de Salomón*, the shepherd introduces it later, pretending to have forgotten it at the beginning. In each case the *Dios mantenga* is followed by an ironic comment made at the expense of his auditors, as in the *Farsa del colmenero:*

> Dios mantenga con placer
> A cuantos son sus amigos;
> Mas ésos con pocos trigos
> Los podía mantener.

Then, too, it may have been, not the formula of greeting itself, but the derogatory words that accompanied it, that caused those addressed to be offended.[49] We do have evidence, however, in writers contemporary with Diego Sánchez, that the salutation *Dios mantenga*, which he had borrowed from his predecessors in the drama, was looked upon with disfavor by persons with social pretensions.[50]

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[47] This is the closest approach, in the prologue of Diego Sánchez, to what would later have been called a *loa*. López Prudencio feels some doubt as to whether the reference is to Cardinal Silíceo (pp. 48 ff.).

[48] *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

[49] *Idem*, pp. 74–76. Barrantes (*Recop.* II, 355, n. 1) cited only the *Farsa teologal* and *Farsa de la hechicera* as beginning with the phrase, and did not note the other cases of its occurrence.

[50] In *Tractado* III of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the *Escudero* is instructing Lazarillo in niceties of etiquette: "Y no es buena manera de saludar un hombre a otro, dije yo, decirle que le mantenga Dios?" "Mira, mucho de en hora mala, dijo él, a los hombres de poca arte dicen eso; mas a los más altos como yo, no les han de hablar menos de *beso las manos de vuestra merced*, o por lo menos, *besós, señor, las manos*, si el que me habla es caballero." Antonio de Guevara, *Epístolas familiares*, II (letter to Don Francisco de Mendoza, 1533), wrote: "Si, por malos de sus pecados, dijese uno a otro en la corte: *Dios mantenga* o *Dios os guarde*, le lastimarían en la honra y le darían una grita. El estilo de la corte es decirse unos a otros: *Beso las manos de vuestra merced. . .*" In the *Comedia Tidea* of Francisco de las Natas (text Cronan), printed 1551, we find (11, 850–869):

On several occasions our author attacks the fashions in dress of his time. In the *Farsa de Tamar* he takes advantage of his subject to preach against the wearing of veils.[51] In unrestrained language he scourges the women who use the veil as a cloak for indecent conduct. The sinful fruits of such shamelessness are depicted in the story of Tamar. In the prologue of the *Farsa de los doctores* he touches for a moment on the matter of dress, and declares that people will starve themselves for the sake of finery. The *introito* which precedes the *Farsa del colmenero* combines an account of the misadventures of an apiarist with a tirade against the use of cosmetics.[52] The shepherd is carefully described in the rubric as wearing a mask and carrying in one hand a knife to cut honey-comb from the hives, while he holds "una payla con panales en la otra, y ha de llevar la payla a la parte de fuera ciertas manchas de lechada." The reason for the latter becomes apparent in the lines in which he likens women with their paint and powder to badly floured mackerel, or pails of white-wash which have overflowed. He asks, sarcastically

¿Qué os parece la hermosa?
¿Como la frol de la rosa?
Más desollado conejo.

and closes with a comment on the fantastic styles in head-

En mi tierra,
los que somos de la sierra
Dios mantenga decimos;
otros baxan hasta en tierra
las muças que nos cubrimos;
mas andar,
quiero yo filosomar
otro mejor carescer,
pies y manos y el collar
beso de vuestra merced.

Gillet ("Notes on the Language of the Rustics . . . " in *Homenaje M. P.*, I, 447) thinks the use of the formula, *Dios mantenga*, in the *introitos*, may have hastened its downfall.

[51] Ticknor (fourth American edition, vol. II, p. 464, n. 8) says: "The wearing of veils by ladies in the streets of Madrid led to so much trouble that no less than four laws were made to forbid their use;—the first in 1586, and the last in 1639. But it was all in vain."

[52] A catalogue of cosmetics is found in the *Celestina* (ed. Cejador, vol. I, pp. 75 ff.)

dresses.[53] We find the same theme in the opening of the *Farsa de Santa Bárbara*, in the midst of a general outcry against the vices of the times:

> Hacense las viejas niñas
> En los trajes y en afeites,
> Y los hombres en deleites
> Que se pegan como tiñas.

We have yet to discuss the *Introito de herradores* and the *Introito de pescadores de tierra de Badajoz*—both unattached. The first is an almost lyric expression of the religious significance of the trade of horse-shoeing. Just as a horse is valueless without shoeing and bridling, so is man, unless bridled with the fear of God and shod with his love. The *introito* concludes with praise of God as the divine *Herrador*, who humbly gives us his Body in the form of bread and wine. The last seems to indicate that the *introito* was intended as a prologue to a Corpus Christi play, to be given by, or under the auspices of, the guild of *herradores*. The same purpose was probably fulfilled by the *Introito de pescadores de tierra de Badajoz*, which is in praise of fishing and fishermen. The *pastor*, who had formerly been a fisherman, repents of having changed his vocation, for the calling of fisherman is a noble one, since our Lord before his death ate lamb, but after it only bread and fish. The rest of the monologue is devoted to an enumeration of all the famous places for angling in the vicinity of Badajoz,[54] and the kinds of fish to be caught therein. The praise of certain trades occurs in several farces of the *Recopilación*[55] but these two *introitos* are the only cases in which that function is taken over by the prologue. They foreshadow the coming of the *loa*.[56]

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[53] Some reference to styles in dress is made in Encina's *Egloga*, VIII.

[54] These have been identified, for the most part, by López Prudencio (pp. 269–272) as places in the vicinity of Talavera, or along the course of the Guadiana.

[55] In the farces *Molinero*, *Colmenero*, and *Herrero* we naturally find praise of those respective trades; the *Farsa de la Muerte* ends with a *loa de los albañiles;* in the *Farsa de Santa Susana* we find praise of gardening. López Prudencio thinks the *Introito de pescadores* must have belonged to some Corpus play, since it is usually in the sacramental plays that praise of *gremios* occurs. (p. 68).

[56] The *loa* in Sánchez de Badaj z will be treated fully in Chapter VI.

The study of the prologues of Diego Sánchez from the didactic side makes clear their close kinship to the sermon. The *pastor* is the counterpart of the *preco* who preached the sermon which usually preceded the medieval mystery,[57] who is in turn the descendant of the preacher of the pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*. To the latter may be traced also the choragic function of the prologue, through the *praecentor* of the Prophet play.[58] In Spain, unfortunately, we find no progenitor of Diego Sánchez's shepherd-preacher, although we may point to the *Dança de la Muerte*—in which we find a sermon by a *pedricador*, and in which Death exercises the double function of prologue and chorus—as a possible influence and a link with the liturgical tradition.[59]

The idea of disguising moralist and theologian in the person of the humble shepherd certainly came to our author from those religious dramatists who immediately preceded him. We must not forget that the shepherds of Encina's first Nativity play were also apostles,[60] and that Fernández makes his *pastores* talk learnedly in the *Egloga o farsa del nascimiento*. In Vicente's *Auto pastoril castelhano*, the shepherd Gil explains certain prophecies, and in the *Egloga en loor de la natividad* of López de Yanguas, four shepherds engage in theological discussion. In the prologues of Diego Sánchez, this tradition fuses with the tradition of the shepherd used purely as a comic figure, affording the author an admirable mouth-piece for his own opinions.

Others besides Sánchez de Badajoz used the *introito* with didactic intent. The *Auto de Clarindo*[61] has a prologue, called *entrada*, recited by the shepherd Vidal. He enters singing a *romance*,[62] is amazed to find himself singing treble and counter-

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[57] *Cf.* Picot, *Romania*, XV, 358; Sepet, *Drame chrétien au moyen âge*, p. 260; Petit de Julleville, *Comédie en France au moyen âge*, p. 85.

[58] Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 148, says: "What are the Expositor of the Ludus Coventriae, the Doctor of the Brome plays, or even Baleus Prolocutor himself, but the lineal descendants of the priest who read the pseudo-Augustinian lectio from which the Prophetae sprang?" See also G. Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux du moyen-âge*, pp. 33–44.

[59] See note 40 above.

[60] *Egloga* II.

[61] Printed by Bonilla y San Martín in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVII, 1912.

[62] The editor notes of this *romance* that it is the beginning of the *romance* de Valdovinos, Wolf-Hofmann, *Primavera y flor de romances*, Berlin, 1856, II No. 170.

point, and decides he is a better musician than Orpheus and Amphion combined. He proceeds to moralize on the relations of men and women. He begs men not to rob women of their good name, although women tempt them by the indecency of their dress. In like manner he bids the ladies to have naught to do with men.

The *introito* of Jaime de Güete's *Comedia Tesorina*,[63] aside from certain clowning of the Naharresque sort, is a satire on the women of fashion of his day. He ridicules their mincing gait, their retinues of squires and tire-women, their long trains carried by pages. They use countless cosmetics and wear all kinds of pads and puffs. Their huge skirts give them the appearance of a ship under full sail. The prologuist concludes by pretending to be frightened by the ladies in the audience and offering the play as a present to mollify them.

A pendant to the above is found in the prologue of the *Comedia Vidriana*,[64] by the same author. The rustic *embaxador*,[65] at first awkward and ill at ease, draws courage from the reflection that his appearance is no more ridiculous than that of the dandies in the audience. He proceeds to make fun of the fine gentlemen of fashion, sleekly combed, with their velvet clothing and scented gloves; their hats worn so far back on their heads that they resemble haloes; shoes turned up like the edge of a meat-pie; sleeves like fishing nets. They are covered with knots and bows; their collars are so high and stiff that they look like dog-collars; they grease their hair like women, and carry mirrors in their sleeves.[66] The prologue ends with the argument, which was lacking in the *Comedia Tesorina*.

The *Farsa Salamantina*[67] of Bartolomé Palau has an *introito* burlesquing the phrases of greeting current among courtiers of the period. After certain *facetiae* in the accepted tradition of the *introito*, he apologizes for not having saluted them with "man-

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[63] Cronan, pp. 82 ff.
[64] *Idem*, pp. 171 ff.
[65] Naharro's prologuist refers to himself as ambassador in the comedies *Calamita* and *Jacinta*.
[66] There is a somewhat similar satire of fashions in Ariosto's *Cassaria*, Act V, Scene 3.
[67] Ed. Morel-Fatio in *Bulletin Hispanique*, II, 1900.

tanga hos Dios." He is not sure how he ought to address them, but decides for "esté os entre en buenos días." He derides the obsequious tone of such formulae as "servidor" (to which he attaches a meaning not over-delicate) and "beso las manos." He offers them certain variants of his own creation. To those whose wives are not above suspicion, he would say:

> "Dios hos guarde, cieruo honrrado,
> pues sos hombre tan paciente
> y proueys la pobre gente
> de lo que teneys sobrado."

He appends other greetings in the same style, and concludes with the relation of an erotic adventure.[68]

The *Tragicomedia alegórica del Parayso y del Infierno*, an anonymous Spanish version of Vicente's *Auto da barca do Inferno*, has a prologue (not found in the original) headed *Introito y argumento*, spoken by a shepherd. The whole prologue is serious in tone, consisting of an exhortation to forget fine phrases and worldly vanities, and to fix the mind on the eternal verities. After the extended *argumento*, the shepherd warns his hearers that he who sleeps may find, when he gets to the Other Side, that he has been mistaken. I strongly suspect the influence of the more didactic prologues of Diego Sánchez.

On the other hand, it is the simpler *introitos* of the *Recopilación* which seem to have influenced the prologue of the *Comedia de Sancta Susaña*, 1551, of Juan Rodrigo Alonso (Juan de Pedraza?). The shepherd enters with exclamations of joy, wishes he had worn his best clothes and brought his wife. At first feigning ignorance as to the purpose of the occasion, he finally gives the argument, requesting indulgent attention. The lines in which he tells them not to fear a wetting, since it is not raining, seem to indicate performance in the open air.

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[68] R. E. House, "The Sources of Bartolomé Palau's Farsa Salmantina," in *Rom. Rev.* IV, 1913, noted that Palau's play closely parallels the structure of the *Tesorina*.

IV

Varying Prologue Usage up to 1550

We have seen how the humorous monologue, beginning in popular pastoral elements of Encina and Fernández, named *introito* and fixed in its form by writers of the secular drama, was taken over by the religious drama as well. But there are a number of prologues of the first half of the sixteenth century which do not show its influence, and of which we must now take account. After all, there were other traditions; the dramatic prologue has its analogues in other and older types of literature in Spain. The terms *prólogo*, as preface or foreword, and *argumento*, as summary, have an uninterrupted use from classic times. We find the former used by Berceo,[1] and both terms occur frequently in the *cancioneros;* we have the word of the prologuist of the *Celestina* that *argumentos* were often added by the printers.[2] The literary eulogy and dedication were certainly part of the classical heritage of all medieval writers, as was also the invocation of the Muses. Devout Christians substituted for the latter the invocation of God and the Virgin; we find examples in Berceo and Juan Ruiz, and the author of the *Vita Christi*, who dismisses the pagan Muses and "invoca las cristianas."[3] The sermon which preceded the medieval mystery was another possible source for the prologue, as we saw in the *Dança de la muerte* and the usage of Sánchez de Badajoz. There are evidences of an oral tradition, the tradition of the *juglar*, in the plea for attention and promise of entertainment such as we find in the beginning of the *Libro de buen amor* and in Berceo's lives of

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[1] *Vida de Sancta Oria*, stanza 10:

Havemos en el prólogo mucho detardado,
Sigamos la estoria, esto es aguisado.

[2] The prologue, or p eface, of Proaza, first appearing in the edition of 1502.

[3] *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV* (Foulché-Delbosc), t. I, p. 1.

the Saints.[4] But more than from any literary tradition, the dramatic prologue was likely to spring from circumstances peculiar to the play or its presentation, and from the individual genius of its author.

The greatest variety in prologue usage, among Peninsular writers of the early sixteenth century, is found in the works of Gil Vicente. We have already discussed the *Monologo do vaqueiro* with respect to its possible influence on the *introito*. Heading the *Auto pastoril castelhano* (1502),[5] after some brief stage directions, we find: "E porque a obra em si dalli por diante vai mui declarada, não serve mais argumento." The *Auto de San Martinho* (1504) opens with a beggar's plea for alms. In *O velho da horta* (1512) the old man enters reciting a trope of the *Pater*, in Latin and Portuguese. The *Exhortação da guerra* (1513) begins with a sort of boasting monologue, ending with an incantation, by a *clerigo nigromante*. This may have influenced Naharro in the *Comedia Jacinta* (*Jorn.* V), and through him, the *introitos* to the comedies *Tidea* and *Florisea*, in which the shepherd boasts of magic powers. The *Auto da barca do Purgatorio* (1518) opens with the entrance of three angels "cantando o romance seguinte, con seus remos." The opening of the *Barca da Gloria* (1519) is similar, save that the angels are five. The Spanish version of the *Barcas*, the *Tragicomedia del Parayso y del Infierno*, does not follow this usage, but opens with a didactic *introito*, as we have already noted.

The *Comedia de Rubena* (1521) has an *argumento* in *arte mayor*, in Spanish, recited by a *licenceado*. The *Auto pastoril portuguez* (1523) has a prologue in Portuguese spoken by a *lavrador*, Vasco Affonso, who gives a naïve account of his runaway marriage and expresses his fear that he and his wife will have no

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[4] Berceo, *Milagros de nuestra Sennora* (*B. A. E.* vol, 57, p. 101):

Sennores, si quisieredes attender un poquiello,
Querríavos contar un poco de ratiello, *etc.*

Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, stanza 14:

Si queredes, senores, oyr un buen solaz,
Escuchad el romance, sosegad vos en paz, *etc.*

[5] All dates and citations for Vicente are taken from the edition of Mendes dos Remedios, Coimbra, 1907–1914.

inheritance, since they married without their parents' consent. He recalls, with great difficulty, his mission and the name of the author, and ends with the argument. This prologue may have been influenced by the *introitos* of Naharro, but it entirely lacks their grossness. In the *Auto da historia de Deos* (1527) we are led to expect Naharro's influence by the rubric: "Entra hum Anjo, e a modo de argumento diz o seguinte introito." This expectation is increased by the fact that the verses which follow are in the same meter as the *Diálogo del nascimiento;* but they are merely argumentary, and in Portuguese. After all, we should scarcely expect a typical *introito* from the lips of an angel. This is Vicente's only use of the term (if the rubric is of his writing).

The prologue of the *Templo d'Apolo* (1526) is in Spanish and spoken by the author, who apologizes for the play's imperfections, explaining that he has just recovered from a serious illness. He relates an absurd dream, which, as Crawford has pointed out, is a burlesque on the *Infierno de los enamorados* theme.[6] His last two stanzas give the argument. The *Comedia sobre a divisa da cidade de Coimbra* (1527) has an argument in Portuguese (in *arte mayor* with fifth line a hemistich) spoken by a *peregrino*, who later assumes the function of a *praecentor*, calling upon the various actors in turn. The *Triumpho do inverno* (1529) has a general prologue, by the author, with subsidiary *argumentos* before each of the several *figuras.*

The *Auto da Lusitania* has an *introducção* which consists of three parts, all in Portuguese: first, what we might call a *paso*, for six persons, presenting an intimate scene of Jewish family life; second, an introductory speech by a "Licenceado argumentador da obra," in *pie quebrado;* third, a prose argument by the same person. This is the first use of a *paso*-prologue I have noted on the Peninsula. The first Spanish dialogued prologue occurs, as we remarked, in *El Pecador* of Bartolomé Aparicio, written probably near the middle of the century.

The *Romagem de aggravados* (1533) begins with an address

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[6] *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, p. 72. Cotarelo (Colección de entremeses . . . p. viii) notes a similarity to the *Disparates* of Encina.

by Frei Paço, who has let his tonsure grow and is dressed as a courtier. He tells his auditors (in Portuguese) to expect no pious words of him, nor good works, but only fine phrases. He concludes by giving the argument. A cleric functions as prologuist also in the *Auto da Mofina Mendes* (1534), in a sort of *sermon joyeux*, consisting of certain platitudes on the vanity of human knowledge, reinforced by citations from the classics and the Church Fathers. I cannot find that it exerted any influence on the *introitos* of Sanchez de Badajoz, as might be expected.

The most original of the prologues of Vicente is that of the *Floresta de engaños* (1536). It is preceded by the direction: "Entra logo o Philosopho com o Parvo atado ao pé, e diz." The Philosopher explains that he once flourished in ancient Rome, but because of his outspoken criticism of his fellows he has been condemned to go through life chained to a Fool. In his attempts to fulfill his mission to the audience he is continually interrupted by the *parvo* with witless remarks and the refrain, "Haste de ir hoy?" Finally the Fool falls asleep and the Philosopher gives the argument, in prose. The interruption of the argument occurs in the *introito* of *El Pecador*, but there is no other resemblance.

Vicente was not the first to use the term *introito* on the Peninsula (Naharro's plays were performed in Italy). That honor goes to Castillejo, in the *Farsa de Constanza*, if Moratin's dating (1522) of that play is correct.[7] Otherwise it belongs to Fernández de Heredia's *Coloquio de las damas de Valencia*, performed in 1524 or 1525. This is no typical *introito*, however, but a purely complimentary prologue, four stanzas of double *redondillas*, in honor of Germaine de Foix and her consort, the Marquis of Brandenburg.[8]

We noted certain Plautine reminiscences in the prologue to Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria*, which is not a true *introito*. We would expect to find even stronger marks of Latin influence

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[7] This prologue was discussed in Chapter II.

[8] *Cf. Obras* of Fernández de Heredia, ed Martí Grajales, Valencia, 1913 *Cf.* also H. Mérimée, *Art dramatique à Valencia*, p. 71.

in plays dealing with classical themes. Yet Villalobos did not use the original prologue in his translation of the *Amphitruo* of Plautus (1515). He explains this in his introduction:

> La trasladación es fielmente hecha, sin añadir ni quitar, salvo el prólogo que el poeta hace en nombre de Mercurio, y sus argumentos, que esto era bueno para representar la comedia en publico. . . Aquí no se pone aquello, porque sería cosa desabrida y sin gusto. Bastan los argumentos que yo pongo, porque dan mejor a entender la comedia y son más sabrosos para los leyentes.[9]

In the *Farsa o tragedia de la castidad de Lucrecia*, by Juan Pastor, of about 1528, we have also a prose *argumento*. Gallardo[10] gives us all the information we possess of another classical play, *Tragedia de los amores de Eneas y de la reyna Dido*, printed in 1536. Among the data furnished by him we find that it was preceded by an *argumento*, doubtless of the same nature as that used by Juan Pastor. These arguments, as we have remarked before, were common in the early drama from the time of the *Celestina*. There is no indication that they were intended to be spoken, yet they needed only the addition of a word or so of salutation and farewell to the audience to make them into serviceable prologues, such as we shall find in Rueda.

The translation of the *Electra* of Sophocles made by Hernán Pérez de Oliva,[11] published in 1528 with the title *La venganza de Agamemnon*, has a prose argument in two parts. The first, with the heading "La muerte de Agamemnon, parte principal del argumento," gives the exposition of events up to the beginning of the play, while the summary of the play itself is headed "Argumento de la tragedia." The same author's translation of the *Hecuba* of Euripides, entitled *Hecuba triste*, has only the second summary, since the equivalent of the first part is found in the exposition of Euripides himself, put into the mouth of the first character, the Shade of Polidorus.

An unusual prologue is that offered by the *Comedia de Se-*

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[9] *Bibl. de aut. esp.*, vol. 36, p. 462.
[10] Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, col. 1460.
[11] His plays are printed in López de Sedano, *Parnaso español*, vol. VI.

púlveda (1547) in dialogue and in prose (as is the play itself).[12] Two gentlemen meet before the house in which the play is to be given and enter into a discussion of the *comedia* Becerra praises the author (Sepúlveda), whom he calls his friend, and undertakes a defense of the drama and dramatic authors, upon whom Escobar had commented slightingly. At the other's request, Becerra gives the exposition necessary for an understanding of the action, because, as he insists, such events could not be included in the play for fear of infringing the unity of time. He then presents the argument of the play proper and adds that the author hopes for attention and a kindly reception of his work. Unfortunately, this prologue is not original with Sepúlveda, since both it and the play are a translation from *Il Viluppo* (1547) of the Italian dramatist Girolamo Parabosco.[13] There is some original material, however, in the prologue: the comment on Sepúlveda himself, the reference to the unity of time, and a mention of the *entremeses* with which the play is enlivened.

Let us turn to the religious drama. We have already noted the prologue of the *Farsa del mundo y moral* (1516–1520), of López de Yanguas, spoken by Apetito as a shepherd. There are certain classical allusions in his first stanza, beginning:

> Apolo conserve tan noble ganado
> Y Jupiter alto le guarde de mal. . .

which are in ill accord with the otherwise rustic tone of the verses. Apetito's speech is preceded by a stanza (in *arte mayor*, like the rest), headed *Autor*, of dedication to Juana de Zúñiga, Countess of Aguilar, but there is no indication that this was spoken.

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[12] Printed by Cotarelo y Mori in *Rev. esp. de Lit., Hist. y Arte*, vol. I, Madrid, 1901. The whole play, in its relation to the Italian original, was discussed by J. P. W. Crawford in an article, "Notes on the Sixteenth Century 'Comedia de Sepúlveda,'" in *Rom. Rev.*, XI (1920).

[13] Parabosco's prologue in turn shows a marked resemblance to the prologue of *La Cortigiana* of Pietro Aretino (publ. 1534), which is in the form of a prose dialogue between a *Gentiluomo* and a *Forastiere*.

The *Auto de la Aparición* (1523) of Pedro Altamira[14] has a prologue by an angel. The short *argumento* in *arte mayor* is expository, with a plea for attention. But the use of an angel as prologuist is as rare on the Spanish stage as it was usual on the Italian, where the *annunziazione* of the sacred plays was almost always spoken by an *angelo*. Altamira's prologue is an isolated instance, in Spain, of the use of an angel prologuist in the first half of the sixteenth century. Gil Vicente used an *anjo* to give the argument to his *Historia de Deos* (1527), as we have already remarked. In the codex published by Rouanet,[15] although angels appear in fifteen of the plays, there seems to be only one case in which one recites the prologue. This is the *Auto de la resurrección de Christo* (LX), probably of 1578. The *Representación de los martires Justo y Pastor* (1568) of Francisco de las Cuebas opens with a speech, in prose, by *Angel Custodio*, but it proves upon examination to be an invocation of the two saints, as is indicated by the beginning, "Sagrados cuerpos. . . ."[16] It is to be noted that none of these angels belongs to the Christmas cycle, from which source, together with the messenger of the Annunciation, D'Ancona derives the angels of the Italian *annunziazione*.[17] The *pastor* was preferred in the early Spanish Christmas play because of his comic possibilities, and it must not be forgotten that frequently one shepherd would announce the Nativity to the other shepherds of the play.

The most unusual and interesting prologue written in Spain before 1550 outside the *introito* tradition, occurs in the *Tragedia llamada Josefina*, of Micael de Carvajal. This play was written

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[14] For a discussion of this play see the article of J. E. Gillet in *Romanic Review*, XIII (1922), pp. 228 ff.

[15] Léo Rouanet, *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1901.

[16] Printed by J. P. W. Crawford, *Revue Hisp.*, XIX (1908). There is an interesting description of the costume of the angel in the directions following the play; dressed in a long white robe, with "guirlanda," "espada desnuda," and "unas doradas llabes," he closely resembles that figure described in *Revelation*, 1:16–18.

[17] D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, I, 379–380. Stiefel (*Zeitschrift*, XVII, 580), as Gillet remarks (*loc. cit.*, n. 11), considered the prevalence of the angel in (at least German) medieval plays as prologue-speaker as evidence that the prologue of religious plays was not of classical origin.

not later than 1540 and possibly as early as 1523.[18] The prologue offers a departure from any Spanish prologue before it, since it is headed *Prólogo con argumento*, is spoken by a *Faraute*, and is in prose. Before taking up these points, I shall give a brief summary of its content. The *Faraute* begins with a great show of languages, garbled phrases in Latin, German, French and Italian. He says he is the *mensajero* of the author, with whose plays they are familiar. In response to a complaint about the appearance of "trage y gente de Judea" in previous productions, the author has had recourse to legends of Amadis and the Holy Grail, but has found nothing suitable, so he will present the story of Joseph.[19] The argument of the first act follows, with a plea for attention and the *faraute's* promise to appear again later. This he does before the second act. Besides giving the argument, he apologizes for the author's ignorance of erotic matters and hopes the love scenes between Joseph and Potiphar's wife will suit them, for he has sought the help of persons learned in such matters, Celestina among others.[20] On his third appearance, before the third act, he expresses dissatisfaction with audience and actors, and reminds them of the many great personages (largely mythical) before whom he has performed.[21] He urges their attention, bids them not to mind the heat, and leaves with the words: "Yo me voy; bien creo que hasta otro año no nos veremos."

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[18] Printed by Cañete, Madrid, 1870, from an edition of 1546. The prologue of this edition was printed by Ferdinand Wolf, 1852, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (*Phil.-Hist. Klasse*), vol. VIII, 117–118. Morel-Fatio (*Romania*, XV, 463 ff.) gave variants from an edition of 1540, with explanation of some doubtful passages.

[19] It has been objected that this subject is not closely related to the festival of Corpus Christi. (See Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, p. 61.) But Isidore of Seville wrote, in his *Allegoriae*, 45: "Joseph, qui venditus est a fratribus, et in Aegypto sublimatus, Redemptorem nostrum significat a populo Judaeorum in manus persequientium traditum, et nunc in gentibus exaltatum." A more extended parallel is drawn in *Quaest. in Vet. Testam.*, cap. xxx. The medieval clergy saw Christ prefigured in all the great men of the Old Testament.

[20] I am following the version of the edition of 1540, given by Morel-Fatio (*loc. cit.*). The reference to the amatory passages is much shorter and soberer in the edition of 1546 nor is there any mention of Celestina.

[21] This portion does not occur in the edition of 1546.

Creizenach finds this prologue to be "in der burlesken sprunghaften Manier der komischen Introitos."[22] He notes that the formation of the adjective *Josefina* in the title recalls Naharro's usage. We might add that Naharro, in the *introito* to the *Comedia Tinellaria*, gives samples of oaths in French, Catalan, German and Portuguese. But the *Faraute*, after all, is boasting of his ability as interpreter, a function connoted by his title. The influence of the *introito*, if any, seems to me to be very slight. Cañete[23] thought the prologue due to classical influence; he says: "En cambio, Carvajal prinicipia haciendo explicar al *Faraute* el argumento, según el uso de griegos y romanos que prevalecía en Italia."[24] Unfortunately, Greek and Roman usage did not prevail in the religious drama in Italy, as we have seen. The *Josefina* has certain seemingly classical elements, such as the title *Tragedia*, a chorus of maidens, and the appearance at the beginning of the first act of *Envidia, furia infernal*[25] but I do not believe the prologue is classical.

In Spain the recorded use of the term *faraute*, in the drama, is rare. The *Josefina* is the oldest play in which I have noted it. The next is the *Comedia a lo pastoril*,[26] of about the mid-century. In this Christmas play we should expect a shepherd prologue, but the *Declaración de la hobra*, in *quintillas*, like the play, is made

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[22] Creizenach, III (1923; Hämel's revision), p. 66.

[23] *Prólogo* of his edition of the *Tragedia Josefina*, p. xlix.

[24] He makes the same statement in *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, p. 184

[25] This introductory monologue (in double *redondillas* like the play) has been called a prologue. It is one only in the Euripidean sense, as an expository soliloquy serving to set the play in motion—in this case by personifying the motive for the mistreatment of Joseph by his brethren. That the origin of this personage is classical, is a possible, but not a necessary assumption (Envy was not one of the Furies in classical mythology), unless we are able to prove that the personification of virtues and vices which characterized the Morality Plays of all Europe was also a derivation from the classic drama. Nor is the relation of this monologue to the lines headed *Envye incipit* of the *Mistère du Viel Testament* (ed *Société des anciens textes*, vol. II, pp. 343 ff.), intercalated just before the betrayal of Joseph, at all clear. In the French version, Envy, after a 36-line monologue in which she boasts of her power, enters into conversation with the conspirators. In the Spanish we have neither boasting nor dialogue with the brethren; Envy disappears after calling Pride and Lucifer to her aid. Whatever its source, this opening was not regarded as a prologue in the sense in which the early Spanish drama understood it, and the *Faraute* was sent to fulfil that function.

[26] Printed by Crawford, *Rev. Hisp.*, XXIV (1911).

by a *Faraute*, and is purely expository. In the Jesuit school drama, *Examen sacrum*,[27] of the last quarter of the century, *Faunus*, in the course of the prose prologue in dialogue, calls the *Interpres*, who gives the argument, a *faraute*. Another interesting use is found in the rubric preceding Timoneda's Catalan play, *Misteri ecclesiastich*,[28] in which the prologue is called *Introyto.—Faraute del Auctor*. When we consider that these are all religious plays—three of them Corpus plays—and when we learn that analogous terms, *scutifer*, *nuncius*, *trompeta*, occur in the Provençal mysteries[29] it seems logical to assume that the term *faraute*, as prologuist, came into Spain from that direction.

Carvajal's use of prose in his prologue is also to be remarked. Prose is no more the usual vehicle for the prologue, in the sixteenth century Spanish drama, than it is for the body of the play. The *Tragedia Josefina* itself is in double *redondillas*. It is the first play in Spanish with a prose prologue (I do not consider as prologues those *argumentos* obviously intended for the reader). Vicente, as we saw, used prose in his *Auto da Lusitania* (1532), but only in the argumentary portion of his prologue. The next nearest prose prologue in Spanish is that of the *Comedia* of Sepúlveda, almost wholly borrowed from the Italian.

The *Farsa llamada Custodia del Hombre*[30] (1540–1547), of Bartolomé Palau, opens with an *introito y argumento*, but it is not at all like the rustic prologue of his *Farsa Salamantina*, already discussed, written within the same period. Eighteen of the twenty-two stanzas of *arte mayor* are devoted to the argument, preceded by a rather flowery salutation of the type with which we shall become familiar in later *autos*. At the end of the play are three stanzas headed *el auctor al lector*, from which, together with the great length of the work, Rouanet concludes it was only

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[27] Printed by Pedroso, *Bibl. de aut. esp.*, vol. 58.

[28] Included in the first *Ternario Sacramental*, 1575. Gallardo, IV, col. 728, gives the heading and opening lines of the prologue.

[29] *Cf.* D. C. Carnahan, *The Prologue in the Old French and Provençal Mysteries*, New Haven, 1905, p. 137. See also D'Ancona, *Origini*, II, p. 270, n. 2.

[30] Published by Rouanet in *Archivo de Investigaciones históricas*, vol. I, 1911.

meant to be read. In that case we must take merely figuratively the request of the prologuist that the play be heard "sin bozes ni gritos, ni algunos remores." The rubric indicates a *Paje* as speaker of the prologue. It is strange that Palau did not use a typical *introito*, since there is a comic shepherd in the play who uses *sayagués* throughout.

Like Palau, Sebastián de Horozco wrote prologues in two different traditions. His *Entremés* began with a shepherd monologue in the *introito* style. In his Corpus play of 1548, *Representación de la parabola de Sant Mateo*,[31] we find an *argumento* in *quintillas* like the majority of those in Rouanet's collection: flattering salutation, argument, plea for attention. Two other plays of Horozco, one based on the story of Ruth and the other drawn from the ninth chapter of St. John, are without prologues.

Why, being familiar with the pastoral prologue, did Palau and Horozco use it only in their secular plays? In the religious drama, especially in those plays written for Corpus Christi, it is evident that by the fourth decade of the sixteenth century there was a more serious tradition for the prologue—a tradition strong enough to combat the influence of Encina and Naharro, and even of Sánchez de Badajoz, religious dramatist *par excellence* and inveterate user of the *introito*, although usually with didactic intent.

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[31] Included in the *Cancionero de Sebastián de Horozco*, Seville, 1874.

V

The Later Introito and the Paso as Prologue

Rojas Villandrando, in his *Loa de la comedia*,[1] assigns to Lope de Rueda an important part in the development of the drama, and incidentally, of the dramatic prologue:

> digo que Lope de Rueda,
> gracioso representante,
> en su tiempo gran poeta,
> empezó a poner la farsa
> en buen uso y orden buena;
> porque la repartió en actos,
> haciendo introito en ella,
> que ahora llamamos loa,
> y declaraban lo que eran.

This statement gives an importance to the simple *introitos* of Rueda which they are far from deserving. Rueda would scarcely have won fame for the division of his plays into acts (they are really scenes) or for his *introitos*, in neither of which was he an innovator. Rojas, evidently, knew nothing of the work of Torres Naharro.

Rojas was right, however, in his description of the function of the prologues used by Rueda, a function which the later *loa* had outgrown. The prologues of the comedies *Armelina*, *Medora*, *Eufemia* and *Los Engañados*, and of the two pastoral colloquies, *Camila* and *Tymbria*,[2] are all of the same type: short prose arguments, with a word of greeting to the audience, a phrase of leave-taking, and in one or two cases, a plea for attention and a promise of entertainment. These prologues are headed variously: *Introito*

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[1] The eighth *loa* of the *Viaje entretenido*, Madrid, 1603.

[2] See *Obras*, ed. Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle in *Colección de libros raros o curiosos* t. XXIII, XXIV (Madrid, 1895–6). Of other secular plays ascribed to Rueda the *Colloquio llamado Prendas de Amor* has no prologue; the *Comedia llamada Discordia y question de Amor* has an expository *argumento* in *quintillas*, but neither play nor prologue can with certainty be claimed for Rueda.

que haze el autor, *Argumento del autor*, and *Introito y argumento que haze el autor*. In the *Auto de Naval y Abigail*,[3] the heading is simply *Argumento*, although it too was probably spoken by the actor-manager. *Argumento* is certainly the apter term, since there is nothing of the older *introito* in these prologues. We may even doubt, I think, whether Rueda himself thought of them as *introitos;* I suspect the hand of Timoneda, his friend and editor, who applied the term to his own prologues, and was admittedly under the influence of Torres Naharro.[4] To the latter may be due the classic *Et valete* which closes the prologue of each of Rueda's four comedies; we noted its occurrence in the comedies *Trofea*, *Tinellaria*, *Aquilana* and *Serafina*. But Rueda may have borrowed his phrase directly from Latin comedy, or from current Italian usage; I have found it in Aretino's *Marescalco*, and Bibbiena's *Calandria*, the latter being early enough to have influenced Naharro. The usual position of the *valete*, with the *plaudite* which often accompanies it, is in the epilogue and not in the prologue, where Rueda uses it.[5]

The use of prose in the Spanish prologue, as in the drama itself, was rare before Rueda, but not unknown. Besides those arguments or synopses, intended for the reader, which we find already in Encina's eclogues and in the *Celestina*, we must remember the Faraute of the *Tragedia Josefina*, who speaks prose on each of his three appearances. Gil Vicente, in the *Floresta de engaños*, uses prose (Spanish) in the argumentary portion of his prologue, and also in the *Auto da Lusitania* (Portuguese). It is not entirely impossible, besides, that the *Comedia de Sepúlveda* with its prose prologue, borrowed from Parabosco, may have preceded the plays of Rueda.

The model which influenced Rueda's usage was doubtless

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[3] Rouanet ascribed two other plays of his collection to Rueda, the *Auto del Robo de Digna*, and *Auto de los desposorios de Moisen*, but even if his authorship were proven, the commonplace *argumentos* might well be by another hand. Still more doubtful is the case of the *Farsa del Sordo*, the prologue of which, in the older *introito* tradition, we have already discussed. *Supra*, p. 54.

[4] See preface to his three comedies, *Obras completas* vol. I, p. 9. Edited by Menéndez y Pelayo, Valencia, 1911.

[5] There are two instances in Plautus, in the *Captivi* and the *Casina*, where it is found at the close of the prologue. It occurs in the epilogue in Plautus: *Menaechmi*, *Mercator*, *Persa*, *Bacchides;* in Terence: *Eunuchus*, *Heautontimoroumenos*, *Phormio*. Rueda uses a *vale* at the end of the *Eufemia*.

Italian. Prose in the comedy, and in the comic prologue, had early received the sanction of some of the greatest Italian dramatists of the Renaissance: Bibbiena, Macchiavelli, Aretino and Cecchi, to name only a few.[6] In the case of the *Comedia Medora* we can point to a direct source; Stiefel[7] noted that its prologue was an "abgekürzte Uebersetzung" of the argument to Giancarli's *La Zingana*, upon which Rueda based his play. Let us note, however, that he made no use of the *prologo*, spoken by the boy Tiberio, which preceded the argument in Giancarli's comedy; just as he borrowed nothing, unless expository matter, from the introductions of his other Italian originals, when he might, for the taking, have had prologues as unusual as that appropriated by the author of the *Comedia de Sepúlveda*. It must be admitted, however, that before Rueda's popular audiences—chance audiences gathered in public square or inn-yard—such witty and sophisticated prologues would have been out of place. The important thing was to get on with the play. Even the brief argumentary *introitos* were forced upon Rueda because of the complicated nature of his plots, which would scarcely be intelligible without them.[8] That he chose to use prose, under these conditions, was not owing to a lack of poetic ability, as has been said, but because prose is better fitted than verse for directness and brevity of exposition.

Rueda was too good a showman to neglect another means at his command to prepare his auditors for the play by putting them in a good humor, which, after all, is one of the chief functions of a prologue. This means was the *paso*, the most important original contribution of Rueda to the drama of his time. The title-page of *El Deleytoso* describes the contents as "passos . . . para poner en principios y entremedias de colloquios y comedias." Two of these bear internal evidence as to Rueda's intention to use them as prologues. The fifth (*Tierra de Jauja*) ends with these words of Mendrugo: "Pero primero quiero decir a vuesas

[6] Ariosto, however, preferred verse in the prologue (usually *versi sdruccioli*). For the discussion *pro* and *con* of the merits of prose in Italian comedy, see Creizenach, *Geschichte des neuren Dramas*, II, 268–270.

[7] "Lope de Rueda und das italienische Lustspiel" in *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, XV, p. 321.

[8] *Ibid.*

mercedes lo que man encomendado." The seventh (*Las Aceitunas*) ends by Aloja's saying: "Las aceitunas no están plantadas, ya las habemos visto reñidas, razón será que dé fin a mi embajada." This mission would be, of course, to recite a prose argument of the type we have just discussed. Whether the other *pasos* of *El Deleytoso* or those of the *Registro de representantes* were intended to be used in the same way, is not indicated; but any one of them might have so functioned. The *Entremés del mundo y no nadie*[9] attributed to Rueda, served as a prologue to some play, according to the final exhortation to the actors to cease their foolishness and make way for certain "recitadores."

With the study of the *paso* as such, we need not here concern ourselves. The *paso* as prologue does not differ in substance from any other *paso;* it has merely changed its position, not its function, which is frankly to amuse. Its purpose is identical with that of the *introito* proper of Naharro: to capture the attention of a restive audience, put it in a good humor, and lead up to the presentation of the *argumento.* Rueda separated the two parts, simplified the argument by using prose, and replaced the *introito* with a slight dramatic dialogue. Two great advantages resulted: a certain monotony inherent in the older monologue was avoided, and the humorous port on was set free to function as the opening of any play. To the rise of the *paso*, more than to any other cause, is due the disappearance in this period of the older *introito.*[10]

A pleasant variation of a different sort was achieved by Juan Timoneda in the *introitos* to his three comedies.[11] In the *Amphitrión*, although using an acting version of the translation of the *Amphitruo* made by López de Villalobos (1515), Timoneda neither used the simple prose argument of the latter, nor a translation of the original Latin prologue, by Mercury. This *introito* deals with a subtle question of love. Two young shepherds are in love with a shepherdess, who, asked to choose

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[9] Published by Foulché-Delbosc, *Rev. Hisp.*, VII, pp. 251–255.

[10] I do not think we can say that it was the democratization of the drama which killed the old *introito*, which had grown up in connection with an aristocratic theatre. Sánchez de Badajoz had used the *introito* in plays which must have had popular presentation.

[11] *Obras completas*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, 1911.

between her swains, takes from one his garland and gives hers to the other. Each considers himself the favored suitor, and makes appeal to the girl's father.[12] The latter, unable to decide, refers the question to the audience. Then Morato, one of the youths, begs attention for the comedy which is to follow, and he and his rival in alternation recite the *argumento*. The prologue, the whole of which is in prose, is preceded and followed by a song. Timoneda repeated this formula in the prologue of the *Menemnos*. After the opening *canción*, three shepherds present a case to Cupid: a maiden beloved by them has chosen Ginebro for his wisdom, although Claudino has offered her his great physical prowess, and Climaco, his generosity. Cpuid sanctions her choice saying that he who is truly wise has all virtues. The three youths are satisfied with his decree, and in rotation give the argument of the play, ending with a song. In the *introito y argumento* of the *Cornelia*, Paris, Leander and Actaeon[13] ask the courtesan Lamia to answer certain subtle questions on love, after which all join in giving the argument and go off singing.

These ingenious prologues are not entirely original with Timoneda:[14] that of the *Amphitrión* is based on the first of the *questioni d'amore* found in the fourth book of Boccaccio's *Filocolo;*[15] the *Menemnos* owes its prologue to the third *questione* of the same book. The other prologue is built along analogous lines, and may be original with Timoneda; at least I have not been able to discover any definite source. Although he may have made his versions of these *questioni* either directly from the *Filocolo*, or from a Spanish translation, he did not there find them in dialogue form. In Spain such *questioni*, *dubbi* and *casi d'amore* had been dramatized as early as the *Comedia Fenisa* (1540); and the *Colloquio llamado Prendas de amor*, attributed to

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[12] In the *Filocolo* it is the mother who is asked to arbitrate.

[13] The form Anteon is used throughout, although from the context it is obviously Actaeon who is intended.

[14] The sources to the prologues of the *Amphitrión* and *Los Menemnos* of Timoneda were first pointed out by J. P. W. Crawford in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vol. IX, April, 1914. See also his *Spanish Pastoral Drama*, pp. 99 101.

[15] J. F. Montesinos, *Rev. Fil. Esp.*, vol. XIII, 1926, pp. 280–283, notes the theme of this *questione* in *Premio riguroso y amistad bien pagada*, at tr. to Lope de Vega (new Acad. ed., I, 320*a*), and in Tirso de Molina's *Doña Beatriz de Silva* (ed. Cotarelo, I, 502–505*a*).

Rueda, treats a theme strikingly similar to the *introito* of the *Amphitrion*. These plays, however, are both in verse; and the *casi* in the *Filocolo*, although in prose, are not cast in dramatic form. Timoneda must be given credit for taking advantage of the popularity of pastoral themes and adapting them to form an interesting type of dialogued prologue, adding variety, also, by dividing the argument among several speakers.

The influence of Timoneda's usage is to be seen in the prologue of Alonso de la Vega's *Comedia de la Duquesa de la Rosa*.[16] Here two shepherds boast of their resistance to Cupid, and threaten to slay him. A shepherdess appears, to whom Cupid offers his bow and arrows, bidding her wound whichever of the two she loves more. One is stricken by her shaft, the other stirred to passion by Cupid's will. Both admit themselves conquered by love and enamored of the shepherdess. As she is unable to choose between them, Cupid bids them be off to await the decision of the question, which he refers to the audience. Then Cupid alone gives the argument. The two other plays of Alonso de la Vega, the *Tragedia Seraphina* and *Comedia Tholomea*, offer simple prose arguments of the type of those used by Lope de Rueda.

We must note here that Pedro Navarro, an *autor* contemporary with Rueda, and praised by Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Agustín de Rojas, did not yield to the prose influence, but opens his comedy, *La Marquesa de Saluzia, llamada Griselda*,[17] with sixty lines of *décimas*, unheaded, in which he compliments the audience, gives the argument, mentions his sources, and begs for silence, promising pleasure and profit to the "auditorio singular." It is in the tradition of the *loas* of the *autos sacramentales*, and the fact that it is not so called is a proof that the time was not yet ripe for a transference of the term *loa* to the secular drama.

The six plays of the *Turiana*, published by Timoneda (1565),[18]

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[16] The three plays of Alonso de la Vega, published by Timoneda in 1566, were edited by Menéndez y Pelayo in *Dresden Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, vol. 6.

[17] Pub. by C. B. Bourland, *Rev. Hisp.*, IX.

[18] Included in Timoneda's *Obras completas*.

of unknown authorship, also use verse for their *introitos.* The verse throughout these plays is the *quintilla* with added *pie quebrado* except in two cases: the prologue of the *Paliana* uses octosyllabic quatrains with *pie quebrado,* and the play proper of the *Filomena* is in *décimas,* as more suitable to its tragic theme.[19] In these last two plays the prologue is spoken by the *autor;* in the *Aurelia* and *Floriana,* by one who calls himself the ambassador of the *autor;* the *introitos* of the *Rosalina* and *Trapaçera* are given by pages. The formula of all six of these prologues is the same: a florid, overflattering address of the audience, the argument, leave-taking, with a request for attention and apology for any shortcomings.

Exaggerated praise of the audience is a trait found in the prologues of the reglious drama of this period; compare the following, from the *Filomena,* with any of the more flattering of the *loas* in the collection of Rouanet:

> Congregación muy prudente,
> cumbre de magnificencia,
> virtuosa y noble gente,
> vaso de toda prudencia.

But these *introitos* may have come by their flattering tone from the secular side. In the introito of the *Comedia Tinellaria* the speaker abases himself and exalts his auditors—in this case very illustrious ones. The influence of Naharro is elsewhere present in the *Turiana;* in the formation of the titles of the plays; in the versification; in the division of the *Aurelia* into five acts, and its inclusion of a *paso* reminiscent of a scene in the *Tinellaria.* Add to this the fact that the prologuist in the *Aurelia* and *Floriana* calls himself an ambassador, after the manner of the prologues to the *Calamita, Serafina* and *Aquilana,* and the assumption of the influence of Naharro on the *introitos* of the *Turiana* seems not unreasonable. Only it is the compliplimentary Naharro of the prologue of the *Tinellaria,* and not the creator of the waggish shepherd.

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[19] For a detailed discussion of the metrics of the *Turiana,* see Mérimée *L'Art dramatique à Valencia,* pp. 183–184.

The prologues of the *Rosalina* and *Trapaçera* were spoken by Pages. A possible explanation for the origin of these pages is the following: these plays were written and published in Valencia; in 1526, through the interest of the Duke of Calabria in things Italian, the May festivals were introduced into Valencia;[20] the prologuist of the Italian *maggi* was regularly a *paggio;*[21] on the frontispiece of the *Trapaçera* there is the wood-cut of a *paje* which distantly resembles the description of the prologuist of the *maggi* given by D'Ancona.[22] Therefore I infer that the pages of the *Rosalina* and *Trapaçera* were borrowed from the Italian *maggio.* It is, I suppose, only a coincidence that the first prologue written by Ariosto for *La Lena*, the source of the *Trapaçera*, was spoken by a boy.[23]

The *pasos* of the *Turiana* were all intended for use as prologues, according to the rubric: "Aquí comiençan muchos passos y entremeses muy graciosos para principio de farças y comedias." There is internal evidence of prologue function in three of them. The *Paso de dos clérigos, cura y beneficiado, y dos moços suyos simples* ends with the Cura's pleas for attention to the play about to begin. The *Paso de dos ciegos y un moço y un pobre* offers us an interesting introductory monologue which at first glance seems to be written in the spirit of the old *introito.* The boy Palillos, after a complimentary greeting of the audience, says he is seeking a master. He knows more than twenty trades; he knows something of herbs, of baking, of currying horses. He would like to be servant to a vicar, for the sake of the fine living. But he has also the qualifications of a gentleman: he rises late, grieves when the bottle is empty, and when well fed can be

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[20] *Idem.*, p. 96.

[21] *Origini del teatro italiano*, II, p. 270.

[22] The wood-cut of the Page is found on p. 379, *Obras* of Timoneda. D'Ancona's description follows: "Comunque del resto e'si chiama, il dicitore del *Prologo* è per lo più un fanciullo schiettamente vestito, con un gonnellino a mezza gamba: ha la fronte talora coronata di una ghirlanda, e più spesso cinta di un nastro, e porta in mano uno scettro fiorito od un mazzolino, a quel modo che l'*angelo* della *Sacra Rappresentazione* portava una palma, quando trattavasi di esporre il martirio di un santo." By dint of imagination I think I see a resemblance.

[23] It was recited by the Prince Francesco d'Este, during Carnival of 1529, in the new theatre of the court of Ferrara. See N. Campanini, *L'Ariosto nei prologhi delle sue commedie*, Bologna, 1891, p. 151.

tempted only by money. Once he was the *moço* of a blind beggar, tried to steal from him, and came to grief. Now he is willing to reform if he can find a new master. This monologue recalls certain features of the old *introito*, but there is one great difference; this is not the countryman, but the clever city boy; not the *bobo*, but the *pícaro*. The influence of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* is so strong that we need seek no further source. The references to the vicar and the *ciego* are significant, and the specifications of a gentleman might stand as a malicious protrait of the needy *escudero* who was Lazarillo's third master. Palillos is obviously a Lazarillo in miniature.

The opening monologue of the *Paso de un soldado y un moro y y un hermitaño* is built on the same pattern as the last. Here it is the soldier who is out of employment and ready to do anything to earn a penny. His accomplishments are very peaceful for a man of war, including the making of spade-handles, whistles for ferrets, and ladies' ruffs. Again we have the mention of the priest and the blind beggar. This monologue may be a satire, by inversion, of the *miles gloriosus*. Yet I imagine there is more truth than fiction in this picture of the shifts to which a discharged soldier might be put to earn a livelihood in the Spain of that time.

Neither of these speeches is actually a prologue. They are the opening monologues of *pasos* which are functioning as a whole as prologues. Only the first words of greeting to the audience are "out of character." The rest is an organic part of the *paso* itself.[24] But these monologues, in which the crude gusty humor of the old *introito* is *raffiné* by an admixture of rascally sophistication, prepare the way for the more picaresque of the *loas* of that "caballero del milagro," Agustín de Rojas. Incidentally they provide the closest analogue, in Spain, to the French monologue of the type of the *Valet à louer à tout faire*.[25]

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[24] W. Shaffer Jack *The Early Entremés in Spain*, in Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, No. 8, says of the *pasos* of Rueda: "Generally the opening speech also is in some sense an explanation or a preparation, though in no sense a prologue, which is seldom found in the entremés." (P. 84.)

[25] The two are sprung from analogous sources. I can see no direct influence of the French form on the Spanish.

In the religious drama after 1550, the term *introito* is seldom applied to the prologue. It does not occur in the codex of *autos* published by Rouanet, even in those prose prologues in which we might suspect Rueda's influence. The *Auto de las Cortes de la Muerte*, begun by Micael de Carvajal and finished by Luis Hurtado de Toledo,[26] has a severely hortatory *introito* in double *quintillas*, of the same type as that to Palau's *Custodia del Hombre*, and likewise, although it seems quite as unactable, ends with a plea for silence.

In the six religious plays of his *Ternarios sacramentales*, published 1575, Timoneda retains the terms *introito*, *introito y argumento*. Three of these are addressed to Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, and contain what seems to us rather fulsome flattery of that prelate. They seem to show the influence of the prologues of the *Turiana* and also of the Castilian *loas*. The *Auto de la Oveja perdida* has two *introitos*, the first addressed to the Archbishop, the second "para el pueblo", but in reality directed to the clergy. He could have found his model for this in certain of the prologues in Rouanet, especially the unattached *Loa para cualquier auto*. It is to be noted that the immediate, source of this *auto* of Timoneda has no prologue. The *Auto de la Fee* has a prologue,[27] addressed to the Archbishop by a page who seeks indulgence for the youth of the actors, the play being given, apparently, by boys in the Archbishop's service.[28] The *Auto de los Desposorios de Christo* has only the complimentary address of Juan de Ribera, the *Auto de la Fuente de los Siete Sacramentos* just as complimentary a prologue directed to the "cristianísimo colegio." The two Catalan *autos* apparently had the same type of prologue; in the *Misteri ecclesiastich* it is headed, curiously, *Introyto.-Faraute del Auctor.*

After 1575, I can offer only indirect references to the use of the word *introito*, whether in the religious or the secular drama. The combination of *Introito y loa* which occurs in a *Comedia y*

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[26] Published in *B. A. E.*, vol. 35.

[27] Note that the original of this, the *Prematica del Pan*, has a *Loa al Sacramento* which Timoneda does not use. (Rouanet, LXXV.)

[28] See Pedroso, *B. A. E.*, vol. 58, p. 89, n. 2.

auto sacramental of 1590, described by Gallardo,[29] may merely indicate two prologues. Luis Alfonso de Carvallo[30] writes, in 1602, of the "loa o prologo de la comedia, que otros llaman introito o faraute," and says farther on, "llamaronle introito por entrar al principio." Rojas, in the *loa* cited at the beginning of this chapter, seems to indicate *loa* as the current term, and *introito* as old-fashioned. In 1615 we have the testimony of Suárez de Figueroa, who, mentioning the decadence of the *loa*, says: "Ya van poco a poco quitando la Loa o Introito, etc."[31] From the lack of direct evidence, I should say Rojas was right, and that the other learned writers used the term as an afterthought, for the sake of a synonym. Two years later Suárez de Figueroa,[32] writing on the same topic as before, uses only the word *loa*. So, just one hundred years after the first edition of the *Propalladia*, the word *introito* is little more than a memory.[33]

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[29] Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, col. 667.
[30] *Cisne de Apolo*, Medina del Campo, 1602, p. 124, recto.
[31] *Plaza universal*, Madrid, 1615, p. 324.
[32] *El passagero*, Madrid, 1617, fol. 109, recto.
[33] If I have not dwelt at length on the origin of the term *introito*, it is because there is not much that can definitely be said about it. It was applied by Torres Naharro to the shepherd monologue, and appeared for the first time in the *Propalladia*, Naples, 1517. It is a learned, not a popular form, from the Latin *introitus*. It may easily have come from the liturgical Introit, which is analogous to the prologue. Naharro evidently needed a new term for the monologue that preceded his *argumento;* he avoided *prólogo*, partly because the latter already had the accepted meaning of literary preface, or foreword, and partly because his shepherd monologue did not really introduce his play. R. Menéndez Pidal (*Rev. de Fil. Esp.*, vol. VII, 1920, pp. 15–16) notes the medieval use of derivatives of *introitu* (*entroido, antroido, antroito*) and of *introitulu, introiculu* (*antruejo, antruijo*) with the meaning of "Carnival", but I see no connection between that and Naharro's usage. Concerning the possible influence of Alione de'Asti, I have already spoken, *supra*, pp. 46–47.

VI

The Early Loa and Its Origins

As far as I have been able to discover, it is in a Corpus Christi play published in 1551, the *Farsa llamada Danza de la Muerte*,[1] of the Segovian Juan de Pedraza, that occurs the earliest datable use of the word *loa* as the equivalent of dramatic prologue. The term appears twice, once as a caption preceding the opening *villancico*, and again in the following rubric: "Dice el Pastor al Prólogo, o la Loa."[2] This prologue, however, is neither classical nor laudatory, as the nomenclature might suggest. It is a characteristic *introito*, in rustic dialect, with self-introduction of the speaker, a boast of his ability, fear of ridicule, defence of his dress and profession, and ending with argument and plea for silence. If, then, *loa* is to Pedraza merely a generic term for prologue, when, where and how did it acquire that meaning? In both secular and religious drama before 1551, the *introito* was the fashion; in prologues not in the *introito* manner, we find neither the term *loa* nor any marked eulogistic content. The first occurrence of the term *loa* applied to the prologue of the secular drama is in the *Alejandra* of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, written not earlier than 1581. It is, therefore, in the usage of the religious drama of the second half of the sixteenth century that any clue to the origins of the *loa* must be sought.

The most important body of plays for our study is found in the codex published by Rouanet, of ninety-five religious plays

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[1] Printed by Pedroso in *B. A. E.*, vol. 58; see also Ferdinand Wolf, "Ein spanisches Frohnleichnamsspiel vom Todtentanz" in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philo.-Hist. Klasse*, vol. VIII, Vienna, 1852, pp. 114–150.

[2] Cotarelo (*Colección de entremeses*, I, xi) sees in the use of the term *prólogo* a proof "que los mismos autores, aun los de pocas letras como Pedraza, que era tundidor de oficio, sabían el origen clásico de la pieza introductoria." This, I think, may be doubted; certainly there is nothing classical in this prologue.

and one *entremés*, nearly all anonymous and undatable.[3] Rouanet puts most of them between 1550 and 1575, admitting that some may be earlier. Of these ninety-five plays, sixty-six have prologues and there is in addition an unattached *Loa para qualquier auto*.[4] Twenty-nine of these sixty-seven prologues are headed *Argumento;* twenty-two are called *Loa; Loa y Argumento* occurs twice; *Loa al Sacramento*, twice; we find also a *Loa en romance*, *Loa en romance cantando* and *Loa en ottava*. The term *loa* occurs twenty-nine times, the term *argumento*, thirty-one. One prologue is headed *Romance*, while eight have no heading.[5] In only a few cases is the speaker named; we may presume, I think, that many of these prologues were spoken by the *autor*. Most of them are in *quintillas;* ten are in prose; four in *octavas;* three in *romance;* one in *quintillas* of the *arte mayor* line; and one in a six-lined octosyllabic stanza rimed *abbaba*.

Rouanet has commented on the marked absence in these plays of the type of prologue used by Torres Naharro and Sánchez de Badajoz: "Plus de rustres, plus de jargon, plus d'équivoques facéties étrangères au sujet."[6] The word *introito*, as we have seen, does not occur, but there may be detected a few traces of the spirit of the older prologue. The speaker, Agricultor, of the opening lines of the *Farsa del sacramento de los tres estados* (R. 83),[7] enters singing a humorous *villancico* and addresses his auditors with *Dios mantenga*, treating them as fellow shepherds; later on he pretends to have forgotten his

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[3] L. Rouanet, *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo, XVI*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1901. The *Auto de Cain y Abel* is signed by Maestro Jaime Ferruz; the *Auto del martyrio de Sant Justo y Pastor* is probably by Alonso de Torres, and was performed at the University of Alcalá in 1568; Rouanet (vol. I, xii) assigns the *Auto de Naval y Abigail* to Lope de Rueda and the year 1559, and attributes to the same author the *Auto del robo de Digna* and *Auto de los desposorios de Moysen;* the MS. copy of the *Auto de la resurrecion de Christo* (No. 60) has a permit to perform in Madrid, of 1578.

[4] Rouanet, I, 132, following the *Farsa del sacramento del amor divino*.

[5] Rouanet 7, 14, 17, 55, 61, 68, 71, 83. It seemed best to class these all as prologues, although in several cases (55, 61, 68) we find a speech, of a hortatory nature, which in function is midway between the prologue and opening monologue. The latter, as we have already noted, is often a prologue *in esse*, although not cast in prologue form.

[6] Rouanet, I, xi.

[7] The numerals in parentheses refer to the number of the play in Rouanet.

errand. The *loa* of the *Farsa sacramental de la moneda* (R. 84) opens also with something of the old flavor:

> Guarde Dios, amen, amen,
> los aquillotres señores . . .

but the rest is an apology for faults and plea for attention. The prologue of the *Auto de la paciencia de Job* (R. 96), in a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese, has a touch of the *introito* humor and may be spoken by the *bobo* who gives the epilogue. These, however, are the only vestiges of the old *introito*, a fact which is all the more remarkable when we consider that in most of these plays there are comic scenes in which the *pastor*, *bobo* and kindred figures appear.[8]

Twenty-eight of the prologues of this codex are of a uniformity which enables us to treat them as one. They are written in *quintillas* and follow a constant pattern: salutation, argument, plea for attention, and occasionally an apology for shortcomings. Complimentary epithets such as "auditorio sublimado" and "illustre congregación" are usual, but beyond these the prologues do not deal in praise. *Argumento* is used as the heading sixteen times, *loa* ten times, *loa y argumento* twice. The indiscriminate use of the two terms indicates that *loa* is treated as the equivalent of prologue, with no connotation of eulogy.[9]

The same uniformity is to be found in the ten prose prologues, one headed *loa*, the rest *argumento*. They address the audience as "generoso auditorio" or "magnífico ayuntamiento", present the argument, and end by asking for "el acostumbrado silencio". I think we may see here the effect

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[8] J. P. W. Crawford, "The Pastor and Bobo in the Spanish Religious Drama of the Sixteenth Century" in *Rom. Rev.*, vol. I, 1911.

[9] This group, which even on cursory examination impresses itself as predominant, is what Rouanet (*Colección*, I, xi) has in mind when he writes: "L'auteur, après avoir salué les assistants, se contente de leur déclarer par avance quel épisode on va représenter devant eux, et de réclamer leur attention." Menéndez y Pelayo observes, in his preface to the Academy edition of Lope de Vega, vol. II, xxv: "Las *loas* de los autos primitivos suelen estar en *quintillas* y son, por lo común, simplicísimas, reduciéndose a solicitar la atención y benevolencia del auditorio con estas o parecidas fórmulas, *etc.*"

of the usage in the contemporary secular drama, where, under the influence of Italy, prose had become the fashion. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that two of the prose prologues add to the usual ending a *valete*, a phenomenon noted in the prologues to the comedies of Rueda, who is possibly the author of one of the prose play of this group, the *Auto de Naval y Abigail* (R. 59).[10] We should not forget, however, that the *Faraute* of the *Tragedia Josefina* used prose. In fact, something of the humorous tone of the latter pervades the *argumento* of the *Auto de la prevaricacion de nuestro padre Adan* (R. 42). The prologuist (apparently the author in person) likens himself to a clock, to be corrected by his auditors. After the argument, he closes with the following request for applause: "Pues yo, como digo, me hize campana, que alguno tome cargo de dar las badajadas."

Metrical innovation is sought in the four prologues in *octavas*. In three of these, *Auto del rey Nabucodnosor quando se hizo adorar* (R. 14), *Auto de la visitacion de Sant Antonio a Sant Pablo* (R. 76) and *Farsa sacramental llamada Desafio del hombre* (R. 90), the prologue is of the usual argumentary type. In the fourth, *Auto de la Asumption de nuestra Señora* (R. 62), the *Loa en ottava* is in honor of the Virgin. These four prologues, together with the concluding *ottava*, a sort of epilogue, of the *Auto de los desposorios de Moysen* (R. 49), offer probably the earliest examples of the use of this meter on the Spanish stage. We shall find it again in the prologue of the Jesuit school play, *Parabola Coenae*. The secular drama of this period, in spite of the influence of Italy, is singularly free from Italian verse forms, so that we do not find *octavas* in the prologue (or play proper) until the appearance of *La infelice Marcela* of Cristóbal de Virués, written not earlier than 1580. Rojas Villandrando used the form once, in the second *loa* of his *Viaje entretenido;* after him, *octavas* are not infrequent in the *loa*. This measure, introduced into Spanish verse by Garcilasso,[11] may have entered the religious drama by way of the Italian

[10] See Note 3 above.

[11] See Hayward Keniston, *Garcilaso de la Vega*, New York, Hispanic Society, 1922, pp. 331–332.

sacra rappresentazione, where the *ottava rima* was the usual meter, not only of the *annunziazione*, but of the play as well.[12]

Another innovation, this time strictly Spanish, is to be seen in the use of *romance* in the prologue, headed *Romance*, of the *Auto de los desposorios de Isac* (R. 6), in the *Loa en romance cantando* of the *Auto del sueño de Nabucdonosor* (R. 15), and in the *Loa en romance* of the *Auto del hijo prodigo* (R. 48). In the *Auto de Cain y Abel* (R. 41), the opening monologue of Death, after the *loa*, is in *romance;* in two other plays (R. 16, 96) the same measure occurs as an interlude between two scenes.[13] The second of the three prologues was intended to be sung, and we cannot deny the possibility of the other two having been sung as well, although we must admit that their dry argumentary content was unlikely matter to set to music. Whether sung or recited, the use of this meter here is significant when we consider that by the beginning of the seventeenth century it had become the favorite meter for the *loa*.[14] In this connection it is interesting to note that Schack suggested the *romance* as a source of the *loa;* he wrote:

> Más patente aparecerá la estrecha unión que tuvo este linaje de poesía (the *romance*) con el drama posterior, si se recuerda, aun anticipando esta observación, que en tiempo de Lope de Rueda precedía el romance a toda representación escénica, que después subsistió como loa o prólogo, y al fin se confundió con el drama, formando un todo orgánico.[15]

There are several obvious objections to this view: first, what-

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[12] Let us note again that the angel who is almost invariably the speaker of the *annunziazione* in the Italian religious plays is indicated as prologuist in only one play of Rouanet, the *Auto de la resurrecion de Christo* (No. 60). See above, p. 87.

[13] Professor S. G. Morley, "Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega" (*Homenaje a M. Pidal*, I, 518), believes that these interludes were sung, but does not discuss the *loas*. He notes that the first *romance* sung on the Spanish stage stands between the two parts of Naharro's *Diálogo del nascimiento*. Let us add that probably its first occurrence in the prologue is the *romance*, "Atan alta va la luna", sung by the prologuist of the *Auto de Clarindo* (*v. supra*, p. 78). In the Portuguese drama, Gil Vicente made use of an introductory *romance*, sung by angels, in his *Barca do Purgatorio* and *Barca da Gloria* (1518, 1519).

[14] Of the 34 *loas* in verse of Agustín de Rojas (six are in prose), 23 are in *romance;* he seems most at his ease in this measure.

ever the usage in the *comedia*, we have no evidence that the *romance* was usual as a musical prelude in the *autos* of this period; again, the dramatic prologue in Spain has a considerable history before this measure appears in the three *loas* above cited; finally, the popularity of this meter increases as the *loa* evolves, which would scarcely be the case if the *loa* had grown out of the *romance*. The truth seems to be that the *romance* appears first as a prologue meter in the religious drama, at a point past the middle of the sixteenth century, after *loa* and *argumento* are already well established. Its use in only three prologues of the Rouanet codex shows that it was not a traditional form. The date of its first appearance in the secular prologue is difficult to determine; some time, probably, within the last fifteen years of the century. Virués, whom Morley[16] noted as perhaps the first to use the spoken *romance* in the body of the drama, preferred Italian meters for his prologues. Once introduced, at any rate, it soon became the usual metrical vehicle of the later *loa*, to the loose, rambling structure of which it was well adapted.[17]

Fourteen plays of the Rouanet collection open with a *villancico;* two others begin with songs in *redondillas*. This initial use of the *villancico* I have not noted in the sacred drama before this time, although final and intercalated *villancicos* are to be

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[15] Adolph Friedrich von Schack, *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España* (tr. E. de Mier, Madrid 1885–1887, vol. I, p. 208). In stating that the *romance* was used as a musical overture to the drama in Rueda's day, Schack is evidently relying on Cervantes' description, in the preface to his *Ocho Comedias*, of the musicians seated behind a curtain "cantando sin guitarra algún romance viejo." Rojas, in an amusing account of a tour of the provinces (*Viaje entretenido*, ed. Cañete, Madrid, 1901, vol. I, p. 123), also mentions the musical prelude; Ríos is speaking: "Y al fin, la casa llena, salgo a cantar el romance de 'Afuera, afuera; aparta, aparta'; acabada la copla, métome, y quédase la gente muy suspensa, y empieza luego Solano una loa, y con ella encomendó la falta de música." Here we have evidence that the *romance* and the *loa* are still separate entities.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 523.

[17] I have a theory that the favor shown the *romance* by writers of *loas* was due to the fact that it lends itself to extemporization. Certainly a practised speaker of *loas* such as Rojas could readily cover up a lapse of memory or insert some timely witticism in this most flowing and unfettered of Spanish meters. He tells us himself, referring to his *loas* (*Viaje entretenido*, I, 176), that "cuando veo que gustan dellas voy poco a poco, y en viendo que cansan las abrevio." Can we doubt that he could also add to them on occasion?

found as early as Juan del Encina.[18] Of these plays opening with a song, seven have what are functionally prologues, although none is so headed. These are all argumentary or didactic in content. Four are followed as well as preceded by a song. Thus, for example, in the *Auto del rey Nabucdonosor* (R. 14), Blindness enters in a car drawn by Faith and Reason, singing a *villancico;* she presents the argument and plea for attention, in *octavas*, after which the opening *villancico* is repeated. This same pattern is found in the *Auto del rey Assuero quando ahorco a Aman* (R. 17) and *Auto de la resurrection de Christo* (R. 61). This introduction of song, prologue, song, anticipates the usage of many later *loas sacramentales*, such, for instance, as we find in the *loa* to Lope de Vega's *Viaje del alma*, which consists of the following parts: (1) *romance*, sung; (2) *prólogo*, spoken, in *verso suelto;* (3) *letra*, sung.[19]

We feel a greater fitness in the application of the term *loa* to certain prologues which have as their outstanding characteristic praise of their auditors or of some distinguished personage among them. The prologuists of the *Auto del destierro* de Agar (R. 2) and of the *Farsa del sacramento de Adan* (R. 91) yearn for the genius of a Homer to do justice to their hearers, although the latter admits:

> qu'él que loaros yntentase
> sería como si entrase
> pequeño arroyo en la mar.

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[18] In the *Farsa racional del libre albedrio* of Sánchez de Badajoz the shepherd sings a secular *villancico* in the course of his prologue; the *Entremés* of Sebastián de Horozco opens with a lively *cantar;* Aparicio's *El Pecador* has an *introito* beginning with a popular song; and Pedraza's *Danza de la Muerte* begins with a humorous *villancico*. The secular lyric seems to be the older as an introductory song . One of our present group of plays, the *Farsa del sacramento de Peralforja* (R. 72), opens with a song of the same stamp; a *villancico* of pastoral theme precedes another prologue (R. 83); the rest are of a religious nature, one *villancico* (R. 45) being a Latin paraphrase of the beginning of the thirteenth Psalm.

[19] This is the first of the autos in *El Peregrino en su patria* (1604). See *Obras*, Acad. ed., vol. II. The *loas* of the other three plays in this work have the same form. It is to be noted that the same order is found in the *introitos* of Timoneda, each of which begins and ends with a *canción*. The prologues in Rouanet, however, from their more primitive character, I should put earlier.

In the *Auto de los desposorios de Joseph* (R. 20) the speaker wishes for the rhetorical powers of a Cicero. In the *Auto de Tobias* (R. 21) the prologuist assures his auditors that they are absolutely without flaw, while in the *Auto de Cain y Abel* (R. 41) he longs for "cien lenguas de metal" to proclaim their worth. The author (Alonso de Torres?) of the *Auto del martyrio de Sant Justo y Pastor* (R. 29), after lavishing the loftiest epithets on his audience, reserves a modicum of praise for his play, "this little titbit, well cooked and seasoned." The *loa* of the *Auto de la conversion de Sant Pablo* (R. 25) is addressed to some influential prelate, and alternates between praise of the illustrious auditor and disparagement of the play. The prologuist of the *Auto de quando Jacob fue huyendo a las tierras de Aran* (R. 4) laments his inability to eulogize fittingly his hearers; it would be dangerous, he declares, to attempt to load with his praises the ship of their merit,

> Y serie dar ocasion
> que con mi loa anegase
> el navio y çoçobrase . . .[20]

The frequent recurrence of the verb *loar* leaves no doubt that to this author the chief function of the *loa* was to flatter his auditors. Whether the usage of the term originated in connection with prologues of this type, is a question to which we shall return shortly.

We should expect to find praises of the saints and the Virgin in prologues of plays dedicated to them, and have already noted

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[20] Note the repetition of the verb *loar* in the following lines of this prologue (the italics are mine):

(4) *loaros* yo seria cosa
de mi caudal y motivo
para mi muy afrentosa,
porque querer yo *loar*
vuestros quilates y çiençias
hera grand 'ynavertencia . . .
(19) Y serie dar ocasion
que con mi *loa* anegase
el navio y çoçobrase . . .
(30) si por mi fuese *loado* . . .
(32) que no me atrevo a os ***loar.***

the *Loa en ottava* of the *Auto de la asumption de nuestra Señora* (R. 62), in which the Virgin is lauded. In the prologue to the *Farsa del sacramento del amor divino* (R. 7) there is a brief apostrophe of the Virgin. The *Auto de acusacion contra el genero humano* (R. 57) is followed by *octavas* in honor of Our Lady, but the *loa* is merely argumentary. Other plays in this collection in honor of the Virgin are without prologues. Of the eleven plays dealing with the lives of saints, eight have prologues,[21] but these are all narrative or argumentary, not eulogistic. There seems, therefore, to be little evidence for basing the origin of the *loa* on laudations addressed to the saints or the Virgin.

A prologue that consists in part of an invocation addressed to the Eucharist is found in four Corpus Christi plays. In the *Auto del sacrifecio de Abraham* (R. 1) and the *Farsa del sacramento llamada Prematica del pan* (R. 75) the prologue is entitled *Loa al sacramento;* in the former the first ten, in the latter the first twenty lines are spoken to the Host on the altar, in prayerful adoration, the rest consisting of the usual argument and plea for silence. In the *Loa* of the *Colloquio de Fide ypsa* (R. 66) the direction "de rodillas al sacramento" indicates the speaker as kneeling for the opening words, and then, at the rubric "en pie", rising and turning towards the audience to present his argument. The first portion of the unattached *Loa para qualquier auto* is preceded by the direction, "Dice al sacramento", and consists, like the others, in worship of the Eucharist and a prayer for divine guidance. In the *Farsa del sacramento del amor divino* (R. 7) the Host is praised and pointed out "debajo aquél palio enfrente," but is not addressed directly; and in the *Farsa del sacramento de las cortes de la yglesia* (R. 68) Faith's introductory speech is an exhortation to sinners and lyric praise of the Eucharist. It seems strange, when we consider that the majority of the plays in this collection were written in honor

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[21] *Coplas* in praise of St. Francis, St. John and St. Ambrose occur in this codex after the *Auto de los desposorios de Isac*, Rouanet, I, pp. 90–96. *Cf.* stanzas in praise of St. Paul inserted between Encina's *Egloga representada por las mesmas personas* and *Egloga de las grandes lluvias*, first printed in an edition of his *Cancionero* appearing in 1507, at Salamanca.

of the festival of Corpus Christi, forty-six having prologues, that we do not find more cases of praise and adoration addressed to the Sacrament.

The *Loa para qualquier auto* deserves a few words to itself. After the opening invocation there follows a portion headed *A un Perlado, o otro señor*, who is addressed as "Muy ilustre y gran señor". Considered independently, as they are printed, these ten lines are without point, since they state merely that the most skilful navigator cannot bring his ship into port if the elements are adverse. Taken in connection with the following lines, *A un pueblo*, their meaning is clear: even as the skilled sailor is at the mercy of the storm, so the skilled speaker will come to grief without the fair wind of his auditors' favor; he trembles at the thought of trying to please such varied tastes, and they too, in his place, would be shaking "como ant'el lobo el cabrito." The existence of this *loa*, written to fit any Corpus play, attests both the increasing popularity of the *auto sacramental* and the increasing difficulty of pleasing the audience.[22] It seems also to indicate an awakening demand on the part of *autores* for prologues "de mano ajena", and is a first step towards the emergence of the *loa* as an independent *genre*.[23]

There are a few other religious plays of this period to be examined before we proceed to a general discussion of the *loa*. The didactic, argumentary *introitos* of Palau's *Custodia del hombre* and of Carvajal's *Cortes de la Muerte* have already been noted.[24] In the former's *Victoria de Christo* we find a serious prologue, in stanzas of *arte mayor*, of the same type as the prologue of the earlier play. Cotarelo cites it as being called *loa* ("que

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[22] This foreshadows the later *furia mosqueteril* (Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, pp. 117–121). Rojas, in the ninth and twentieth *loas* of the *Viaje entretenido* (Nos. 93, 102 in Cotarelo's collection) complains of the fickleness of his audience. No. 169 in Cotarelo has this refrain: ". . . que es difícil Contentar a varios gustos."

[23] Carlos Boyl, in his *Romance a un licenciado que deseava hazer comedias* printed in *Norte de la poesía española*, Valencia, 1616 (ed. Morel-Fatio, *Bull. Hisp.*, 1902, p. 57)writes:

> Letras, loas y entremeses
> buscará de mano agena,
> porque la propia de todos
> como propia se condena.

[24] *V. supra*, pp. 90, 101.

quizá no sea del autor"), and as having nine stanzas, the first of which he reproduces.[25] Rouanet saw an edition of 1570 in which the prologue consisted of but seven stanzas, and was called *Prólogo y argumento del auctor.*[26]

In the chapter preceding we remarked that Timoneda, in his religious plays, applied the term *introito* to prologues which, in their highly colored flattery, would seem to have every claim to the title of *loa*. But although he may have modeled his *introitos* after Spanish *loas* of the laudatory type, we do not find them in any of the three extant originals of his plays.[27] Besides, as we have said before, he could have found the complimentary *introito* in the comedies of the *Turiana*, in Fernández de Heredia's *Coloquio de las damas de Valencia*, and even in the *Comedia Tinellaria* of Torres Naharro.

The Jesuit school play, *Parabola Coenae*,[28] has a serious argumentary prologue in *octavas*, headed *Argumento*, the speaker of which is called *Interpres*. The same term is used in the *loa* of another Jesuit play, *Examen sacrum*,[29] one of the most original prologues of the sixteenth century. It is in prose, in dialogue,

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[25] *Colección de entremeses, loas*, etc., vol. I, p. xi.

[26] Rouanet, "Una edición desconocida de la *Victoria de Christo*" in *Revista, crítica de historia y literaturas españolas, portuguesas e hispano-americanasl;* 1899, vol. IV, 430–435.

[27] *V. supra*, p. 101. Timoneda discarded entirely the *Loa sacramenta* of one of his sources, the *Farsa del sacramento llamada Prematica del pan* he put into the *introito of* the *Aucto de la fuente de los siete sacramentos* certain argumentary matter of the first speech of St. John, which functions as a prologue in his original, *Auto de la fuente de San Juan.*

[28] Published by Pedroso, *B.A.E.*, vol. 58, from a codex of plays written towards the end of the sixteenth century for performance by students of the Jesuit College at Salamanca.

[29] *Ibid.* The Latin phrases in this prologue are an echo from school plays in Latin. A study of the prologue in the Latin school drama in Spain is outside our province, since it was of no influence on the popular *loa;* the influence, as shown in the present instance, was in the opposite direction. Creizenach (II, 75) comments on the prologue in the Latin comedies, after Ariosto, of Petrejus (Juan Pérez), of the University of Alcalá, published in 1574. Mérimée (*L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, p. 676) cities the prologues as being among the fragments preserved of the *Comoedia Lobenia* (1566) and *Fabella Aenaria* (1574) of Lorenzo Palmyreno. Sánchez-Arjona (*Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla*, Sevilla, 1898, p. 16) quotes from a Jesuit history of the Jesuit College of Plasencia a description of the effect of a Latin *auto* of 1561 on a popular audience: "Y con ser todo en latín, fueron los representantes tan aventajados, y tan excelente la música, que se derramaron muchas lágrimas de los oyentes, aunque el latín muchos dellos no lo entendían."

and is divided into three scenes. Faunus[30] enters, calling out to someone, and comments on the size of the audience and the closeness of the room. Socius appears, speaks slightingly of Faunus' intellectual pretensions, and addresses him in Latin. Thereupon Faunus summons the Interpres, who enters and begins making a Latin speech to the audience. Faunus begs him to change to Spanish, and Interpres gives the argument. There ensues an amusing dialogue between the two, in which Faunus makes ridiculous comments on words used by the other. He ends with a request for attention. This prologue, in its use of prose and dialogue, seems to show the influence of the *paso*. There is also, in its style, a certain similarity to the prologue of the *Tragedia llamada Josefina*.

The *Comedia llamada Jacobina* of Damián de Vegas,[31] published in 1590, has an *Argumento y prólogo, en verso esdrújulo*. The prologuist, after recounting briefly his wanderings and misfortunes, expresses his joy that fate has brought him before so distinguished an audience, whose minds are above those ridiculous plays which amuse the young and foolish.[32] We can commend the author's originality, but scarcely his good taste, for writing a serious prologue in a meter used by Ariosto and his contemporaries especially for its humorous effect. The note of personal reminiscence in the opening is one that was sounded frequently by Rojas.

And now, before we make any generalization on the prologue of the period just traversed, let us examine what others have said on the subject. Little that has been written on the *loa*, it must be admitted, has to do with its earlier manifestations. Spanish critics writing at the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century,[33]—exponents of classical theories borrowed from Italy—are mostly content with condemning the *loa* for its trivíality and lack of connection with the play; but

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[30] This is evidently the *bobo* or *villano* under a Latin name. *Faunus* occurs as the name of a simple, credulous person in one of the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, entitled *Exorcismus sive spectrum*.

[31] Published in *B.A.E.*, vol. 35.

[32] W. Shaffer Jack, in his thesis, *The Early Entremés in Spain*, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 104, thinks the author is here attacking the *entremés*.

[33] Díaz Rengifo, Alonso de Carvallo, González de Salas, López Pinciano and Suárez de Figueroa, among others. V. *infra*, p. 110 ff.

they are dealing with the *loa* of their own time. Modern critics have usually been satisfied, like Schack, to give us a description of the *loa* in the period of its greatest development, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, with perhaps a brief mention of the *introito* in Naharro and Rueda.[34] Cotarelo's treatment of the *loa* before Rojas is incomplete, with little discussion of origins, and no clear distinction between *loa* and *introito*.[35] Menéndez y Pelayo, Rouanet and Bonilla y San Martín have dealt briefly with the *loa* of the earlier period.[36] I find, expressed or implied, in these discussions of the *loa*, old and new, two ideas which are pertinent to our study: (1) that the *loa* is the development of the *introito;* (2) that the *loa* was so-called because its function was to praise someone or something.

The assertion that the *loa* grew out of the *introito* seems to me to be unsupported by the facts, and to be due to a looseness in the use of terms. It is true that *loa* succeeded *introito* as a generic term for prologue; but it does not follow that the types originally designated by those terms were genetically related. In our early chapters we studied the *introito* as a *genre* with certain sharply defined characteristics. The *loas* in the codex of Rouanet—and these are the earliest *loas* we know—present us with an entirely different set of characteristics. Where are the common traits, the transitional forms we should expect to find if they had evolved from the *introito?* The prologue of Pedraza's *Danza de la Muerte* is really an *introito* to which the word *loa* is applied merely as a synonym for prologue, as the rubric tells us; in which case the *loa* is already existent, and this is not a transitional form. Let us note, besides, that the *introito*, both term and form, is with few exceptions the possession of the secular theatre; the *loa* is the exclusive property of the religious drama from 1551, or earlier, until 1580, or later. The evidence at hand seems to indicate that the *loa* could have come into being if the *introito* had never existed.

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[34] Schack, II, 238–240. See also Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, pp. 279–281; Ticknor (4th Amer. ed.) vol. II, pp. 527–9; Rouanet, *Intermèdes espagnols*, Paris, 1897, pp. 30–32.

[35] Introduction to his *Colección de entremeses, loas*, etc., *N.B.A.E.*, vol. 17.

[36] Menéndez y Pelayo in the introduction of the second volume of the Academy edition of the works of Lope de Vega, p. xxv. Rouanet, *Colección*, I, xi. Bonilla y San Martín, *Las Bacantes*, Madrid, 1921, p. 142.

VII

Tragic Prologue and Classical Theory

We have seen how, after the demise of the old *introito*, the prologue in the comedy underwent a period of change and experimentation, showing the influence of Italy in its subject-matter and in its use of prose. This Italian domination was, however, not complete, since the prologues of the *Turiana* and of Navarro's *Marquesa de Saluzia* still clung to traditional Spanish forms; nor was it, fortunately, of any more lasting effect on the prologue than on the comedy itself.[1] In the present chapter we shall follow the prologue through another wave of Italian influence, exerted this time on the tragic side. We shall see how it fares, in practice, at the hands of dramatists enamored of Italian meters, and, at times, of Italian subjects. Then we shall note how it is viewed, in theory, by dramatic critics who attempted to apply to the Spanish drama the precepts of Aristotle, Horace, and their Italian commentators.

Spanish writers and translators of tragedies in the first half of the sixteenth century, as was noted in an earlier chapter, did not use a spoken prologue, but were content with a prose argument for the reader. The two tragedies of Gerónimo Bermúdez, *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise laureada*, have likewise only this prose summary, headed *Argumento*. The plays of Juan de la Cueva, both comedies and tragedies, use prose arguments, one at the beginning of the play and one also before each act, such as we found in the *Celestina*. This absence of a separate spoken prologue in tragedy is in accord with the usage of the Greeks and Seneca; the prologue, for Aristotle, meant that portion of the tragedy which preceded the first entrance of the

[1] For instance, of the forty *loas* of Agustín de Rojas only six—and those certainly not the most successful—are in prose. They treat of the praise (16) and disparagement (15) of women; praise of the letter R (27); praise of Monday (32), Wednesday (34) and Saturday (37). These are omitted, as having scant literary value, by Cotarelo, who includes only one prose *loa* (No. 142) in his collection.

chorus;[2] it was, therefore, an integral part of the drama, representing that portion of its development which we should now call *exposition*. None of the Italian writers of tragedy used a separate prologue until it was introduced, with apologies, by Giraldi Cintio,[3] whose influence is apparent in the prologues we shall now discuss.

The two extant tragedies of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, *Alejandra* and *Isabela*,[4] written between 1581 and 1585 for performance at Saragossa, have prologues in *verso suelto* spoken, respectively, by the personified abstractions Tragedy and Fame. The prologue of Alejandra is headed *Loa*, and among the characters we find "Tragedia, que hace el prólogo, o loa." This recalls the rubric preceding the prologue of Pedraza's *Danza de la Muerte*, a parallel rendered even more striking when we note that as the latter contains the earliest datable use of the term *loa* as the equivalent of prologue, so in *Alejandra* we find the first datable instance of the use of the term in the secular drama. In *Isabela* only the term *prólogo* is used. The use of *verso suelto* in these prologues is also an innovation,[5] although Bermúdez

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[2] *Poetics*, Loeb ed., XI, 12: "A prologue is the whole of that part of a tragedy which precedes the entrance of the chorus."

[3] In his tragedy *Orbecche*, performed at Ferrara in 1541. The apology for his use of a non-organic prologue, presented in the prologue and epilogue, we shall cite later. Giraldi's dramatic theories are expressed in his *Discorso sulle tragedie e le commedie*, finished in April, 1543, the content of which is very clearly summed up in the study, *J. B. Giraldi* of L. Berthé de Besaucèle, Paris, 1920, pp. 180-194. He quotes Giraldi on the tragic prologue as follows, p. 183, n. 2: "E potrebbe forse avvenire che come ai nostri tempi hanno avuto da me principio le rappresentazioni delle tragedie per tanto spazio di anni tralasciate, così anco per loro il prologo inanzi avesse da me principio nella nostra favella; ma (checchè ne sia per essere) mi sto contento di non avere ancora veduto giudizioso alcuno che di ciò sia rimaso offeso."

[4] These plays may be read in López de Sedano, *Parnaso español*, vol. VI, which text I have found it convenient to use. They are printed also in *Obras sueltas de Lupercio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola*, Madrid, 1889, and in Ochoa's *Tesoro del teatro español*, vol. I. For a study of these tragedies as a whole see J. P. W. Crawford's "Notes on the Tragedies of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola" in *Rom. Rev.*, vol. V, 1914, and O. H. Green's thesis, *The Life and Works of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola* (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, No. 21) Philadelphia, 1927, chap. XIII.

[5] Concerning the metrics of the plays discussed in this chapter, consult S. G. Morley, "Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega" in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. I.

had already used that form in the body of his play. This measure, be it noted, bears the seal of Cintio's approval.[6]

In the prologue of *Alejandra*, Tragedy begins by explaining her appearance and ancient lineage. She says that modern times have deprived her of one act and of her choruses, contrary to the precepts of Aristotle. In spite of the grave decorum which should be native to her, she cannot restrain her joy at seeing before her so many illustrious and well-behaved auditors. Perhaps they expect to see a comedy of Plautus or Terence; instead, they are to behold grim deeds of war and bloodshed. From the Saragossa of Philip II they will be transported, by the magic power of Tragedy, to Memphis in ancient Egypt.

This prologue is based, for the greater part, on two Italian models. J. P. W. Crawford has already pointed[7] out that the opening lines

> Estas tocas sangrientas y corona,
> y la lúcida espada de dos cortes,
> os descubre mi nombre, que es Tragedia,
> nacida de desgracias de los Príncipes . . .[8]

were evidently suggested by the beginning of the first prologue[9] of Lodovico Dolce's *Marianna*, of which Argensola's play is in part an adaptation. From its thirty-fourth line the Spanish prologue shows a marked resemblance to the prologue of Giraldi

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[6] See L. B. de Besaucèle, *J. B. Giraldi*, p. 189; also F. Neri, *Tragedia italiana del cinquecento*, p. 62.

[7] *Loc. cit. supra.*

[8] The prologue to *Marianna* opens:

> Io, qual vedete a questi oscuri panni,
> A questo scettro, a questa ignuda spada,
> Et a questa corona, son colei,
> Che Tragedia nomar gli antichi Greci.
> Nè l'origine mia scende dal Cielo;
> Ch'io già nacqui tra voi, non tra privati,
> Ma tra Principi, Regi, e Imperatori.

Text in *Teatro italiano antico*, vol. V, Milan, 1809, p. 198. Dolce probably borrowed his *Tragedia*, as prologuist, from Cintio's *Orbecche*, in which she appears in the epilogue.

[9] There is a second prologue to *Marianna* in the form of a dialogue between Pluto and Jealousy. See *Teatro italiano antico*, vol. V, p. 202.

Cintio's *Orbecche*. The substance of the following lines is clearly derived from the Italian:

y ya no puedo estar sino contenta
de ver la gravedad del auditorio,
y espíritus ilustres que me aguardan.[10]
. . . . . .
También imaginábades vosotros
que aquí saliera Plauto con su Anfítruo,
o Terencio quizá con sus marañas,
y os mostrara a su Sosia, o a su Dabo,
a Pánfilo, o a Simo con su Cremes,
y al rebés os saldrán los pensamientos,
que todo ha de ser llanto, muertes, guerras,
embidias, inclemencias, y rigores.
Imagináis quizás que estáis aora
contentos en la noble y fuerte España,
y en la insigne ciudad de Zaragoza,
ribera del antiguo padre Ibero,
debajo aquellas leyes tan benignas
que los reyes famosos os dejaron,
atando la clemencia y la justicia
con tantas y tan grandes libertades.[11]

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[10] The Italian runs as follows:

Nè senza gran cagion mi maraviglio,
Che tanti alti Signor, tante alte Donne
Nobili in sommo, e tanti spirit illustri,
Fuor d'ogni opinion nostra, sì ratti
Oggi qui sien venuti . . . . .

[11] Compare with these lines from *Marianna:*

. . . . . ove non si hanno
A recitar di Davo, ovver di Siro
L'astute insidie verso i vecchi avari,
O pronte motti, che vi muovan riso,
O amorosi piaceri, o abbracciamenti
Di cari amanti, o di leggiadre donne,
Onde possiate aver gioja, e diletto;
Ma lagrime, sospiri, angosce, affanni,
E crude morti.
. . . . . .
Forse pensarete
In Ferrara trovarvi, Città piena . .
D'ogni virtu, Città felice quanto
Ogni altra, che il Sol scaldi, o che il mar bagni,
Mercè della giustizia, e del valore,
Del consiglio matur, della prudenza

From this point the prologue parallels the Italian original very closely to the end, substituting, as the scene of the play, Memphis for Susa. Tragedy appears again to point the moral of the play in a brief epilogue, taking the place of the final chorus of *Marianna*. This use of Tragedy in the epilogue might have been suggested by Cintio's epilogue to *Orbecche*, headed *La Tragedia a chi legge*,[12] a passage known to Leonardo, since he borrows from it in his prologue to *Isabela*.[13]

The latter prologue is spoken by Fame, who begins in a strain similar to that of her sister Tragedy. She introduces herself and gives an account of her genealogy and function, which is to record the illustrious deeds of mortals. She denies kinship with the *Fama* of Virgil,[14] but gives no description of herself beyond that contained in these lines:

Del suo Signor al par d'ogni altro saggio;
E fuor del creder vostro tutti insieme,
Por opra occulta del Poeta nostro,
Vi trovarete in un istante in Susa,
Città nobil di Persia, antica stanza
Già di felici Re, come or di affanno,
E di calamitadi è crudo albergo.

[12] *Teatro italiano*, vol. IV, p. 241.

[13] In the prologue, and epilogue, of *Alejandra* it is probable that Tragedy makes her first appearance in person on the Spanish stage. It is interesting to note that the Portuguese Sâ de Miranda had put the prologue of his prose comedy, *Os Estrangeiros*, into the mouth of Comedy, represented as an old woman; Braga, *Historia da litteratura portugueza*, vol. II, Porto, 1914, pp. 371–372, says this comedy was written between 1527 and 1529, and performed at Braga in 1538; Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos notes an edition of Coimbra, 1569, in *Poesias de Francisco Sâ de Miranda*, Halle, 1885, p. xcv. The Spanish religious drama had, of course, from the beginning made frequent use of personified abstractions.

[14] This is the *Monstrum horrendum, ingens*, described in the *Aeneid*, IV, 173–190; it was from this source that Shakespeare drew the Rumour who speaks the *Induction* to the second part of *Henry IV*. Lupercio Leonardo's *Fama* is, of course, an entirely beneficent personage. She had the same character in the *Comedia Trofea* of Torres Naharro and in the *Auto da Fama* of Gil Vicente. It is to be noted that Sâ de Miranda again anticipated Argensola in using Fame as his prologuist in another comedy, *Os Vilhalpandos*, also performed in 1538 according to Braga (*loc. cit. supra*), of which there was an edition as early as 1560. An attempt has been made to find a relationship between Argensola's *Fama* and the *Fama* of Cervantes' *Numanica; cf.* the introduction to Schevill and Bonilla's edition of the *Comedias y entremeses*, vol. VI, Madrid, 1922, p. 56: "En la tragedia de la *Isabela* de Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, la Fama recita el prólogo, expresando ideas que coinciden con las de la Fama en la *Numancia*." A comparison of the two reveals no necessary influence one way or the other, a decision reached also by Dr. O. H. Green in the study of Argensola cited above, p. 121, n. 63.

procuran competir con esta trompa
por mí tan solamente dedicada
para cantar los nombres de los héroes.

She makes an apology for appearing in this manner:

Siguiendo mi costumbre pues agora,
bien que contra la ley de las tragedias,
en los teatros públicos parezco
a daros alabanzas infinitas,
como las merecéis todos vosotros.

The rule which she speaks here of infringing is not the Horatian *Nec deus intersit*,[15] it seems to me, but the tradition of classical tragedy which did not permit a separate prologue, a function which she is here assuming. These words are an echo of the opening lines of the prologue to *Orbecche:*

In what guise Fame trod the boards of the Spanish theatre in the early seventeenth century may be seen from certain stage-directions cited by Sánchez Arjona (*Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla*, Seville 1898, p. 127), found in a MS. of *Los Torneos de Christo con el Amor divino*, which he identifies with *El Torneo de Amor*, performed at Seville in 1607 by Riquelme. The first *acotación* is: "Sale la Fama, un hombre con una trompeta y un sayo largo"; the second runs: "Entra el Amor divino, que hace una mujer de mancebo, muy galán, y la Fama con un cartel y una trompa colgada y un atambor tocando." A note on an *Auto del Nacimiento* printed in the Academy edition of the works of Lope de Vega (vol. II, p. 443, n. 2) tells us that the costume of Fame, who speaks the opening monologue, was thus described in a *suelta* edition of the same *auto:* "Sale la Fama vestida a lo Romano, con faldas cortas y alas, y si pareciere, dirá los versos cantados." The *loa* preceding the *Gitana melancólica* of Aguilar (No. 135 in Cotarelo; printed from *Doze comedias famosas*, Valencia, 1608) opens with these words:

Cubierta de ojos pintan a la Fama,
los carrillos hinchados, y a una trompa
aliento siempre dando.

This description follows Virgil in part.

[15] Line 191 of the *Ars poetica*, to which J. P. W. Crawford thought Fame was referring; see *Rom. Rev.*, 1914, vol. V, p. 34, n. 12. The presence of a divine or semi-divine personage, such as Fame, would scarcely have been regarded as an irregularity by a follower of Seneca, who himself made use of the Furies.

Essere non vi dee di maraviglia,
Spettatori, che qui venuto i'sia
Prima d'ognun, col prologo diviso
Da le parti, che son ne la Tragedia,
A ragionar con voi fuor del costume
De le Tragedie, e de' Poeti antichi;
Perchè non altro, che pietà di voi
M'ha fatto fuor del consueto stile
Qui comparir di maraviglia pieno.[16]

The rest of the prologue of *Isabela* seems to be original with its author, and expresses his satisfaction with the audience for its discernment in coming to see serious tragedy rather than the lewd and frivolous plays which please the vulgar.

Of the five tragedies of Cristóbal de Virués, written about the same time as those of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, and published in 1609,[17] four have prologues. These are his three-act plays. *La gran Semiramis*, *La cruel Casandra*, *La infelice Marcela* and *Atila furioso*. His tragedy most closely following classical models, *Elisa Dido*, has no prologue but begins, as it ends, with a chorus. The others each have an introduction by *Prólogo*—personified, in the manner of Giraldi Cintio; two are written in *verso suelto*, one in *octavas* and one in *tercetos*. Besides the prologue, each of these tragedies has an epilogue in the form of an *octava*, spoken by *Tragedia*, enforcing the moral of the play preceding. Both Prologue and Tragedy are listed among the *dramatis personae*.

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[16] *Teatro italiano antico*, IV, 123. Cintio refers again to his use of a prologue in the epilogue (p. 242):

Nè mi dei men pregiar, perch'io sia nata
Da cosa nuova, e non da istoria antica,
Che chi con occhio dritto il ver riguarda,
Vedrà che senza alcun biasimo lece,
Che da nuova materia, e novi nomi
Nasca nova Tragedia; nè perch'io
Da gli atti porti il prologo diviso
Debbo biasimo aver, però che i tempi,
Ne' quai son nata, e la novità mia,
E qualche altro rispetto occulto fammi
Meco portarlo . . . . . .

[17] *Obras trágicas y líricas*, Madrid, 1609.

The prologue which opens the *Gran Semiramis*, the first of his three-act plays, is a sort of dramatic manifesto inspired, apparently, by the doctrines of Cintio. The task of the poet, declares *Prólogo*, is like that of the painter: as the latter depicts the great victories and triumphs of kings and captains, so the dramatist must make visible upon the stage the tragedies of the human heart, as an example to arouse virtue in sluggish souls. He announces as novel the division of the tragedy into three acts [18] each of which takes place at a different time, one in Bactria, one in Nineveh and one in Babylon. It seems strange that Virués should speak with pride of his deviation from the classic number of acts and yet make no comment on his much more serious infringement of the unities of time and place.[19]

La cruel Casandra has a prologue, in *verso suelto* like the former, which begins by quoting Aristotle and Socrates in praise of virtue, presents the argument and ends with a plea for the silent attention which is due "a la Virtud, que aquí amparada asiste." The prologue of *La infelice Marcela* consists of five *octavas*, a measure which, as we have already noted, occurred in several of the prologues of the codex published by Rouanet.[20] It begins with a description of the wreck of a vessel at sea, which Virués uses as a symbol of the fragility of human hopes. The closing lines are in the tone of those which conclude the prologue of *Isabela*, expressing contempt for the opinions of the crowd and

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[18] Professor S. G. Morley notes in his study of Spanish strophes already cited (*Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, 1, 522, n. 3) that at least three, and possibly five, Spanish plays antedate Virués in their division into three acts. These are: *Auto de Clarindo*, 1535 (?); Avendaño's *Comedia Florisea*, 1551; Cuebas' *Martires Justo y Pastor*, 1568; Romero de Cepeda's *Comedia Metamorfosea*, 1578; and the *Hechos famosos de Mudarra*, 1583–85. Morley thinks, however, they may be looked upon as sporadic examples without influence on Virués.

[19] The unity of time was referred to in the prologue of the *Comedia* of Sepúlveda, 1547. Spingarn, who treats the matter of the unities very clearly in his *Critica letteraria nel rinascimento* (trans. A. Fusco, Bari, 1905, pp. 89–100) gives credit for the earliest approach to the unity of time to Giraldi Cintio, 1543; it was discussed, after him, by Robortelli, 1548, Segni, 1549, and Trissino, 1563. The unity of place is not mentioned by Cintio; the first to clearly conceive of it was Castelvetro, 1570, who gave to all three unities their definitive form. Virués, therefore, could have been acquainted with them.

[20] *Supra*, p. 106.

a willingness to abide by the decision of the learned, to whose indulgence the author commits himself in the final couplet:

> pues aunque en rota barca en su mar ande,
> es el favor de los discretos grande.

This figure of a vessel on a stormy sea, the appearance of which in the prologue we noted for the first time in the *Loa para qualquier auto* of the Rouanet codex,[21] was destined to become such a commonplace of later writers of *loas* as to draw comment from Suárez de Figueroa and from Quevedo, as we shall set shortly. I think we need not derive Virués' use of this figure from the *loa* mentioned above, nor invoke the famous Horatian *O navis*[22] to give it precedent. Surely a Spanish soldier-poet writing shortly after Lepanto and on the eve of the Armada was entitled to such a symbol.[23]

Atila furioso, already Italian in its title, has a prologue in *tercetos* describing the birth and power of Love, and closes with these lines:

> Ilustre ayuntamiento, porque infiere
> el discreto inferir de vuestra parte,
> de su Tragedia oi el autor no quiere
> Daros mayor noticia ni más parte.
> Sólo pide el silencio acostumbrado,
> aunque pedille en tan ilustre parte
> también, pues es tan cierto, es escusado.

This is the earliest example of the use of *tercetos* in the prologue, to which they are not particularly well adapted. The experiment seems to have had very few imitators.

The same meter was used by Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega in

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[21] *Supra*, p. 112.

[22] The fourteenth ode of the first book, famous for its figure of the Ship of State.

[23] Virués uses this figure several times in the body of his works. O. H. Green, *Life and Works of L. L. de Argensola*, p. 115, notices a fondness for it in both Virués and Argensola, and shows that the latter, in one instance, was influenced by a passage in *Orbecche*. Virués might, of course, have been similarly influenced, although I prefer to think his love for the image a natural one.

the prologue to his *Tragedia de la honra de Dido restaurada*,[24] which, with the heading *Introyto*, follows a long prose argument. The substance of these nineteen lines of rather awkward *tercetos* is a variant on the proverb of the shoemaker sticking to his last. A saddler, says the prologuist, would only make himself ridiculous if he attempted to play the viol with his clumsy fingers; the audience, therefore, will put in his proper place any ignorant person who presumes to criticise the author's work. The *Tragedia de la destrucción de Constantinopla*, according to Cotarelo,[25] has likewise a prose argument followed by an *Introyto* in *octavas reales*. These prologues furnish us one of the last instances of the usage of the older term, although they have nothing in common with the *introito* except the name.

One religious dramatist, Damián de Vegas, follows the lead of the tragic writers and rounds out the cycle of experimentation with Italian meters by essaying hendecasyllabic *versi sdruccioli*—with what success we have already seen.[26] His moral tone and praise of the audience for seeking something more than mere entertainment is very probably an echo from the prologues of Argensola and Virués.

What was the effect of the prologues we have just studied on the development of the *loa?* Formally, their insistence on Italian verse-forms was of no avail against the rising tide of enthusiasm for the *romance*.[27] Insofar as they were argumentary, they were a confession of technical weakness from which the *comedia nueva* early freed itself. Whatever of a moral and didactic turn we find in the later *loa*—and even the jocular Rojas is not exempt from it—could just as well be an inheritance from the earlier religious *loa*. The pedantry of which Rojas and his brethren are at times guilty need not necessarily be

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[24] This prologue I was able to study, thanks to Professor J. P. W. Crawford, from a manuscript copy in his possession. The tragedies were printed at Madrid in 1587.

[25] *Colección de entremeses, loas*, etc., introd., p. xiii.

[26] *Supra*, p. 114.

[27] The meters in the *loas* of the *Viaje entretenido* are divided as follows: *romance*, 23; *redondillas*, 3; *octavas*, 1; *verso suelto*, 5: mixed, 2; prose, 6. Of the sixty-eight *loas* other than Rojas' printed in the collection of Cotarelo, the distribution is as follows: *romance*, 55; *redondillas*, 5; *quintillas*, 3; *octavas*, 2; *tercetos*, 1; *verso suelto*, 1; prose, 1.

blamed on the influence of neo-Senecan tragedy. Besides, the use of the prologue as a vehicle for the airing of dramatic theories, which the tragic school had learned from Cintio, found no vogue in the comedy; this is due partly to the fact that the writing of the *loa* devolved, in many cases, not upon the author of the comedy, but upon some member of the company whose special function it was; it was due also to the fact that the popular audiences to which the *comedia* appealed would not patiently listen to esthetic hair-splitting. Even the term *prólogo*, although backed by the weight of classical authority, failed to fix itself to the dramatic prologue, and continued to be applied in Spain, as from the beginning, to the literary preface. The movement we have just studied seems to have had as little influence on the *loa* as it had on the body of the drama itself.

Now let us turn to a consideration of the prologue viewed from the critical standpoint, which we promised at the beginning of the chapter. Let us see how the *loa* is dealt with in those treatises of poetics in which the spirit of classical criticism, wafted to Spain from Italy, began to show itself in the last decade of the sixteenth century. As a prelude to these learned writings, however, we must turn back a moment to 1517 and the *Propalladia* of Torres Naharro.

In the *Prohemio* of this work, after distinguishing between comedy and tragedy, Naharro continues:

> Y según Acron, poeta, hay seis géneros de comedias, scilicet: *stataria, pretexta, tabernaria, palliata, togata, motoria;* y cuatro partes, scilicet: *prothesis, catastrophe, prologus, epithasis;* y como Horacio quiere, cinco actos y sobre todo, que sea muy guardo el decoro, etc.

After having reduced the kinds of comedy to two, *comedia a noticia* and *comedia a fantasía*, he goes on to say:

> Partes de comedia, ansí mesmo, bastarían dos, scilicet: *introito* y *argumento.*

His reference to "Acron, poeta" indicates his acquaintance with the scholia on Horace once attributed to Helenius Acro, a Roman grammarian of the second century, to whom also are

attributed certain commentaries on Terence, included now, perhaps, under the names of Evanthius and Ælius Donatus.[28] The six types of comedy are noted in the Horatian scholia,[29] but the parts of comedy are to be found in the commentary on Terence,[30] in an edition of whose plays Naharro may have met with them.[31] His spelling of these terms and the order in which he places them leads one to suspect that he was not quite clear as to their meaning. This suspicion is strengthened when we find him citing *introito* and *argumento* as representing two of these parts (*prologus* and *protasis?*), since *prologus* alone covers the two divisions of his prologue. This preface is obviously an attempt on the part of Naharro, after his comedies had been written, to cut the cloth of classical precept to fit his far from classical practice.[32]

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[28] The name of Acro as a commentator of Horace has been associated with that of Pomponius Porphyrio, an African scholar of the second century, A. D. Evanthius was teaching in Constantinople about 350 A. D. Donatus, also of the fourth century, was the tutor of St. Jerome.

[29] These commentaries are published in *Acronis et Porphyrionis commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum*, ed. Hauthal, Berlin, 1866, 2 vols. The kinds of comedy cited by Naharro appear in a comment on line 288 of the *Ars Poetica:* "Comoediarum genera sunt sex: stataria, motoria, praetexta, tabernaria, togata."

[30] See *Aeli Donati quod fertur Commentum Terenti*, ed. P. Wessner, Leipzig, 1902. Under the heading *Evanthius de fabula*, IV, 5 (p. 22) we find: "Comoedia per quattuor partes dividitur: prologum, protasin, epitasin, catastrophen. est prologus velut praefatio quaedam fabulae, in quo solo licet praeter argumentum aliquid ad populum vel ex poetae vel ex ipsius fabulae vel actoris commodo loqui; protasis primus actus initiumque est dramatis, *etc.*" Under another heading, *Excerpta de comoedia*, VII (p. 27), we read: "1. Comoedia autem dividitur in quattuor partes: prologum, protasin, epitasin, catastrophen. 2. prologus est prima dictio . . . vel antecedens veram fabulae compositionem elocutio." *Protasis* is defined as follows: "4. protasis est primus actus fabulae, quo pars argumenti explicatur, pars reticetur ad populi exspectationem tenendam; *etc.*" It is clear, therefore, that both *introito* and *argumento* fall under the term *prologus*. The other three parts—*protasis, epitasis, catastrophe*—represent what we should call, respectively, *exposition, development* and *dénouement*. Scaliger, in his *Poetices* (1561), lib. I, cap. IX, adds a fifth part, *catastasis*, after *epitasis*, and remarks: "Hanc partem multi non animadvertere, necessaria tamen est."

[31] Perhaps in the *editio princeps*, Argentorati, 1470; or in an edition by the learned Jodocus Badius, of 1502. Let us remember that Naharro prints a letter of recommendation to the latter in the *Propalladia* (vol. I, p. 13), written by Mesinier J. Barbier.

[32] This attempt at dramatic theory on the part of Torres Naharro appeared, as Spingarn remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 139, n. 1), before any important work of dramatic criticism had been published in Italy.

The next critique of the prologue that I note is to be found in the *Philosophia antigua poetica*, printed in 1596, of Alfonso López, called "el Pinciano."[33] He distinguishes between the comic and tragic prologues as follows:

. . . y en suma, según el vocablo suena y da a entender, prólogo es aquella parte que primera se ofrece en el poema; la cual, o no presta alguna luz a lo futuro de la acción, o la presta de manera que por ella es entendida la acción que sin ells fuera escura; el que no da luz alguna es siempre cómico, y el que la da, puede ser cómico y puede ser trágico. El cómico que da luz se dice argumentativo a diferencia de los otros cómicos que arriba dije no dar de sí alguna claridad; y este tal es contino puesto fuera dela acción, lo cual no hace el prólogo trágico que, siendo puesto de la manera que fue dicho, antes que el resto de la acción y dando por lo pasado luz a lo porvenir, está siempre asido con la acción misma, de forma que no se puede desmembrar sin quedar manca la fábula. Deste, pues, habla Aristóteles y deste digo yo que está puesto delante del choro y del párodo, si es que le hay. Y esta descripción del trágico prólogo no puede convenir al cómico en manera alguna.[34]

For his description of the types of comic prologue he relies on Donatus:

Ay un prólogo, que es dicho comendativo; porque en él o la fábula, o el autor es alabado. Y ay prólogo relativo, adonde el poeta da gracias al pueblo, o habla contra algún adversario. Ay le también argumentativo, que es el que diximos dava luz, por lo pasado a lo porvenir. Y ay un prólogo de todos mezclado, que no tiene nombre y se podría llamar prólogo misto.[35]

Unfortunately, from our standpoint, he makes no comment on the prologue of his own day.

Luis Alfonso de Carvallo, in his *Cisne de Apolo*, published at Medina del Campo in 1602, after repeating the classification of comic prologues according to Donatus, goes on to criticise adversely the Spanish *loa:*

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[33] So named from his birthplace, Valladolid, the ancient Pincia.

[34] Ed. P. Muñoz Peña, Valladolid, 1894, p. 351.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 413. The classification given by Donatus (*ed. cit.*, p. 27) follows his definition of prologue: "Ejus species sunt . . . commendativus, quo poeta vel fabula commendatur; relativus, quo aut adversario maledictum aut populo gratiae referuntur; argumentativus, exponens fabulae argumentum; mixtus, omnia haec in se continens." This classification is followed by Scaliger, *Poetices*, lib. I, cap. IX.

Llámase el quarto modo misto por particular de los tres ya dichos, llamáronle introito por entrar al principio: faraute por declarar el argumento, y aora le llaman loa por loar en él la comedia, el auditorio o la festividad en que se hace. Mas ya le podremos así llamar, porque han dado los poetas en alabar alguna cosa como el silencio, un número, lo negro, lo pequeño y otras cosas en que se quieren señalar y mostrar sus ingenios, aunque deve ir ordenado al fin que yo dije, que es captar la benevolencia y atención del auditorio.[36]

In a final octave he presents the parts of comedy and the purpose of the prologue in an easily remembered form:

> Es la comedia siempre dividida
> en Prothesis do va siempre creciendo;
> y estando ya entablada y conocida,
> va Epitasis los casos rebolviendo;
> en Cathastrofe es siempre fenecida,
> los casos y marañas descubriendo;
> en la Loa procura con prudencia
> silencio, quietud, benevolencia.[37]

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[36] Ed. Medina del Campo, 1602, p. 125. The kind of virtuosity against which Carvallo is here fulminating is already exemplified in Rojas Villandrando, who wrote in praise of comedy, pigs, flies, thieves, silence, women, the letters A and R (his own initials) and the days of the week. Other *loas* in Cotarelo's collection sing the praises of little things, Spring, the letters A B C, the Escorial, the sword, fingers, misfortunes (this is the *loa* printed with *La Guarda cuidadosa* of Miguel Sánchez), work, vanity and ugly women. This fondness for paradoxical subjects is not an inheritance from the earlier *loa*, or *introito*. It suggests such works as the *Epístola a la pulga*, or *Paradoja en alabanza de los cuernos*, attributed to Gutierre de Cetina; or such Italian writings as the *Paradossi* of Ortensio Lando, or the *Capitoli* of Berni, although the method of treatment is different, and it would be difficult to prove the direct influence of these authors on such a writer as Rojas. Literary academies, such as the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, might be a possible influence, since many verses written by the members of such societies treat similarly frivolous themes. See *Cancionero de la Academia de los Nocturnos*, of P. Salvá, reprinted by F. Martí Grajales, Valencia, 1905. Let us note, however, that a fondness for paradox and the spirit of intellectual play, pervaded all Renaissance Europe, and that even serious scholars and theologians condescended to write in praise of unusual and ridiculous objects: Erasmus praised folly; Lipsius, the elephant; Scaliger, the goose; Heinsius, the ass and the louse. That the writing of such *encomia*, *laudes*, or *laudationes* began as a rhetorical exercise in the schools and continued a tradition going back to classical antiquity, has been shown by Arthur Stanley Pease, "Things without Honor", in *Class. Phil.*, XXI, 27-42. This is a heavy load of learning for the *loa* to pull, and we must ask, if these be the sources, why they did not affect in the same manner the dramatic prologue in the rest of Europe. May we not admit that mere search for novelty and variation on the idea of praise, which the *loa* by its very title seemed to force upon its writers, could have produced the same results without any outside influence?

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

The *loa* finds a defender in Francisco Ortiz, who attempts, like Rojas, to find an ancient and honorable ancestry for her. So he writes, in his *Apologia en defensa de las comedias* of 1614:[38]

> Llámanse *Atellanos* unos representantes que vinieron de la ciudad de los Oscos, llamada *Atella*, y introdujeron en las comedias los exordios, que ahora llamamos *loas*.[39]

This is interesting as a desperate attempt to find a classical source for the Spanish prologue, but it is questionable as to whether Ortiz does *Loa* a good turn by coupling her name with the Atellan farces!

In 1615 we find in Suárez de Figueroa's *Plaza universal* the following information:

> Comúnmente en España se dividieron las comedias y tragedias en seis partes, Música, Prólogo, o Loa, Entremés, primera, segunda y tercera jornada; aunque ya van poco a poco quitando la Loa, o Introito, quedándose soló con la Música, con el Entremés, y las tres jornadas.[40]

His statement as to the decline of the *Loa* at this early date is somewhat surprising; certainly a fair number of *loas* were written and recited after 1615, as Cotarelo's collection bears witness. Perhaps it is a case of the wish being father to the thought, yet he repeats his assertion in 1617, as we shall shortly see. It is true that there was already a tendency to reserve the *loa* for the opening of *temporadas*—the *loas* of Quiñones de Benavente[41] are of this type—and we begin to note, even at this date, an extravagant straining after novelty, a sure sign of decadence.

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[38] Cotarelo thought it might be earlier; see *Bibliografía de las contraversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*, Madrid, 1904, p. 490.

[39] Cited in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, col. 1023. This bit of information—without, of course, any application to the *loa*—Ortiz might have found in J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices*, lib. I, cap. VII.

[40] *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes*, Madrid, 1615, p. 324. This work is in part original and in part a translation from the *Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* of T. Garzoni, Venice, 1610.

[41] The *Jocoseria*, 1645, contained 36 *entremeses*, 6 *jácaras* and 6 *loas*, written for various *autores* on different occasions. These are reprinted in Cotarelo's collection and in *Libros de antaño*, vols. I, II, 1872, by C. Rosell.

Two Valencians come to the aid of the *comedia* in 1616, Ricardo de Turia and Carlos Boyl. The latter, in a *Romance a un licenceado que deseava hazer comedias*,[42] was thought by Cotarelo[43] to be striking a blow at the *loa* when he says:

> Salir un cómico solo
> contando una larga arenga,
> es ocasión para que
> con silvos dentro se vuelva.

This applies equally well, it seems to me, to the monologue, or *tirade*, in the body of the play itself. That Boyl had no especial objection to the *loa* appears from the fact that he wrote one for his own comedy, *El marido asegurado*.[44] In the following quatrain he recommends that another than the author should provide the *loa:*

> Letras, loas y entremeses
> buscará de mano ajena,
> porque la propia de todos
> como propia se condena.

Ricardo del Turia, in his *Apologético de las comedias españolas*,[45] finds fault with the use of an argumentary prologue on the part of the ancients as evidence of poor dramatic technique:

> Pues si esto es assí, y estas comedias no se han de representar en Grecia, ni en Italia, sino en España, y el gusto español es deste metal, por qué ha de dexar el poeta de conseguir su fin, que es el aplauso (primero precepto de Aritóteles en su Poética), por seguir las leyes de los pasados, tan ignorantes algunos que inventaron los prólogos y argumentos en las comedias, no más de para declarar la traça y maraña dellas, que sin esta ayuda de costa tan ayunos de entendellas se salían como entravan?[46]

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[42] Published in *Norte de la poesía española*, Valencia, 1616. Reprinted by Morel-Fatio in *Bull. Hisp.*, IV, 1902.

[43] Introd. to his *Colección*, pp. XXIII, XXIV.

[44] This *Loa de don Carlos Boyl, donde se nombran todas las damas de Valencia*, appears as no. 154 of Cotarelo's collection, and is also printed, with the comedy, in *B. A. E.* 43, pp. 187 ff. Let us note that Boyl was anticipated, although probably not influenced, by *Un dezir que fizo Iohan de Tapia, loando e nombrando todas las damas de Turpia*, no. 868 of the *Cancionero del siglo XV*, of Foulché -Delbosc.

[45] Reprinted by Morel-Fatio, *Bull. Hisp.* IV, 47–51.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Here he has turned their own weapons against the classical critics with a vengeance. As far as the *loa* is concerned, he seems to have no quarrel with it, unless it could be proved that the *loas* preceding his own comedies were added without his consent.[47]

The classical school of criticism is represented in the same year, 1616, by the *Tablas poéticas* of Francisco Cascales. He defines the prologue in tragedy in the Aristotelian sense. Of the comic prologue, he says:

> El prólogo (no trato ahora del que usaba la Comedia antigua) sirve para preparar los ánimos de los oyentes a que tengan atención y silencio, y miren con buenos ojos la Comedia, y para defender al autor de alguna claumnia, faltas y descuidos que le murmuran, o para explicar algunas cosas intricadas, que podrían impedir la noticia de la Fábula.[48]

In spite of his parenthetical protest, this seems very close to the commentary of Donatus.

Suárez de Figueroa returns to the attack in 1617, with the publication of *El Passagero*, in which the *loa* is dealt with as follows:

> En las farsas que comúnmente se representan, han quitado ya esta parte que llaman loa Y según lo poco que servía, y quan fuera de propósito era su tenor anduvieron acertados. Salía un farandulero, y después de pintar largamente una nave con borrasca, o la disposición de un ejército, su acometer y pelear, concluía con pedir atención y silencio, sin inferirse por ningún caso de lo uno lo otro.[49]

Corroboration of this criticism on the frequency of descriptions of naval scenes in the *loa* is to be found in a rather unexpected quarter, Quevedo's *Vida del Buscón*,[50] in the following passage, which relates the hero's *début* as an actor:

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[47] Cotarelo nos. 156, 157, 158, 164.

[48] Ed. Madrid, 1779, p. 199. The first edition was of Murcia, 1616.

[49] Ed. Madrid, 1617, fol. 109r; reprinted by Rodriguez Marín, Madrid, 1913, and *Soc. de bibl. esp.*, 1914.

[50] *Historia de la vida del Buscón*, printed 1626 and written perhaps as early as 1608.

Dierónme que estudiase tres o cuatro loas y papeles de barba, que los acomodaba bien con mi voz. Yo puse cuidado en todo y eché la primera loa en el lugar: era de una nave (de lo que son todas) que venía destrozada y sin provisión; decía lo de: "Este es el puerto"; llamaba a la gente *senado;* pedía perdón de las faltas y silencio, y entréme. Hubo un vítor de rezado, y al fin parecí bien en el teatro.[51]

J. Antonio González de Salas, in his *Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua*, 1633, follows Donatus' classification of comic prologues, putting the prologue of his own time under the *mixed* type:

I a esta forma de Prólogo claramente corresponde el que precede hoy en nuestras fábulas, significado comúnmente con el nombre de *loa*, cuya denominación adquirió de el que ahora vimos llamaron *commendatitio* los Antiguos.[52]

In the face of all this criticism, the *loa* continued to flourish: the very existence of these tirades is a proof of its persistent vitality. With the opening of the seventeenth century, it attained the dignity of an independent status, a literary value apart from its prologue function. On July 8, 1602, Agustín de Rojas sold the right to print and sell his *Viaje entretenido* to the bookseller Francisco de Robles for one hundred ducats.[53] That this book was written chiefly for the sake of its *loas*—ten to each of the four parts—there is no reason to doubt. As Rojas himself says, in a word *Al lector:*

Lo que me ha animado a hacer esto, no ha sido confianza de mi ingenio' sino persuasión de mis amigos y voluntad de mis nobles deseos; pareciéndoles que pues había gastado el tiempo en componer tantas y tan varias loas, y algunas de tanto gusto, hiciese un libro para dejarles algún entretenimiento.[54]

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[51] Lib. II, Cap. IX. An enthusiasm for naval scenes and descriptions is not surprising in the period of Spain's greatest maritime power. We have already noted the use of the picture of a ship in *Loa para qualquier auto* and Virués *Infelice Marcela.* Rojas yields twice to its charm (nos. 5, 11); we find the figure used in Cotarelo, nos. 124, 133, 134, 137 (*Loa famosa de la batalla naval*) and 157. The populace was always moved by the sight of ships as floats in the *autos;* in 1578 a realistic setting of *Jonas Profeta* was received with great acclamation (See *Tragedia Josefina*, ed. Cañete, pp. LXXIII–LXXIV.)

[52] Ed. Sancha, Madrid, 1778, vol. I, p. 270.

[53] Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, II, p. 75.

[54] *Viaje entretenido*, reprint ed. 1604 Madrid, 1901, vol. I, p. 45.

The *loa* had attained not only literary but economic independence. A special prize might be awarded the actor, or actress who recited the *loa* particularly well. In a book of accounts of the municipal archives of Valladolid, under June, 1602, we find this entry:

> Abiendo visto lo pedido por niculás de los rríos y Antonio de Villegas, autores de comedias, que se adjudiquen los premios prometidos en la fiesta del Corpus deste año, visto por los dichos señores, tratado y conferido sobre ello, adjudicaron las dichas joyas en esta manera: el premio de la *loa* se dé a la muger de Villegas, y el premio del entremés se dé a niculás de los rríos, *etc.*[55]

Pedroso states that the price paid for a *loa* at the end of the sixteenth century was 100 *reales*.[56] Double that amount was paid for one in 1677, according to an entry in the municipal archives of Seville, noted by Sánchez Arjona.[57] Decidedly, the *loa* had come in to its own. It would be interesting to follow it leisurely and in detail through Rojas and his successors, but such a task is beyond both the present capacity of the writer and the scope of this dissertation.

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[55] Alonso Cortés, "El teatro en Valladolid," in *Boletín Real Acad.*, V., 1918, p. 161.
[56] *B. A. E.* vol. 58, p. xxv.
[57] Sánchez Arjona, *El teatro en Sevilla en los siglos XVI y XVII*, p. 305.

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